

**WHERE THE GAME WAS PLAYED BY
DECENT CHAPS**

**THE MAKING OF NEW ZEALAND CRICKET
1832-1914**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
in the
University of Canterbury
by
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University of Canterbury

1996

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABCIC	Australian Board of Control for International Cricket
ACA	Auckland Cricket Association
ACB	Australian Cricket Board
ACC	Auckland Cricket Club
ASCA	Auckland Suburban Cricket Association
BCC	Britannia Cricket Club
CCA	Canterbury Cricket Association
CCC	Christchurch Cricket Club
CNZ	Cyclopedia of New Zealand
CSCA	Christchurch Suburban Cricket Association
DCC	Dunedin Cricket Club
D&SCA	Dunedin and Suburban Cricket Association
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
ICC	Imperial Cricket Conference
MCC	Marylebone Cricket Club
MCCC	Midland Canterbury Cricket Club
MHR	Member of House of Representatives
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MPC	Member of Provincial Council
NSWCA	New South Wales Cricket Association
NZCC	New Zealand Cricket Council
OCA	Otago Cricket Association
UCCC	United Canterbury Cricket Club
UWCC	United Wellington Cricket Club
WCA	Wellington Cricket Association
WCC	Wellington Cricket Club

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the last three years I have accumulated a multitude of debts both personal and professional.

The staff of the Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, and especially Heather Knowles, have responded to my numerous and sometimes obscure requests with cheerful efficiency. I am also particularly grateful to David McDonald and the staff of the Hocken Library and Hocken Archives in Dunedin, the New Zealand Room of the Canterbury Public Library, The Nelson Provincial Museum, National Library, the New South Wales Cricket Association Library and Stephen Green of the Marylebone Cricket Club Library. Ray Webster, Annie McGlade and the Monday morning team at the Melbourne Cricket Club Library ensured that my two visits were both informative and highly entertaining.

For access to official cricket sources I am indebted to Tim Murdoch of New Zealand Cricket Inc., Tony Murdoch of the Canterbury Cricket Association, and Ali Dunmall and Ron Steiner of the Australian Cricket Board. Stan Cowman at the National Cricket Museum, Wellington, gave me access to the valuable first minute book of the New Zealand Cricket Council and many other useful items.

Several people allowed me use of personal research material and manuscripts. My thanks to George Griffiths, Don and Paddianne Neely, Don Hamilton and especially Jim McAloon

for access to his forthcoming history of Nelson - and for other convivial diversions.

Chris Connolly, Jim Gardner, Jean Garner, Vincent Orange, Sandra Quick, Jean Sharfe, Luke Trainor and Geoff Vincent all supplied useful references and suggestions.

For reproduction of photographs I am grateful to the pictorial archives of Canterbury Museum, and to Christ's College. Liz Parker did the photograph and map layout and made a special contribution in so many other ways.

The financial security which enabled me to proceed with this thesis is due to the New Zealand Vice Chancellors Committee for the award of a William Georgetti Scholarship, the University of Canterbury for a Doctoral Scholarship and the History Department, University of Canterbury, for assistance with research and production costs.

My lengthy periods of research in Dunedin were made very enjoyable by the friendship and hospitality of Barbara and Trevor Chinn, Colin Hayman and the other inhabitants of Ravensbourne. In various parts of the world my family have provided food, shelter, practical assistance and welcome relief from the task at hand. Special thanks are due to my father for very precise and informative editing.

That I am able to emerge from the last three years no more or less sane than when I started is due to a dedicated group of past and present Christchurch residents. Sincerest thanks to Belinda, Brent, Jo, Steve, Helen, Pete, Steve, Anna and Melissa - who has contributed more to the history of New Zealand cricket than she could ever realise, or want to realise.

My greatest debt is to Len Richardson who has

supervised this thesis with a perfectly pitched combination of academic rigour, good coffee and cold afternoons at Rugby Park. Our discussions have taught me much about sport and much more about its place in the wider scheme of things.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines aspects of the relationship between cricket and New Zealand society from 1840 to approximately 1914. It proceeds from the premise that cricket, as the most significant component of the English leisure revolution of the nineteenth century, was encouraged in New Zealand as an important means of replicating English social customs and ideals.

The first section of the thesis examines the development of cricket in the four main provincial centres and in Nelson prior to 1870. These chapters reveal clear links between different colonisation patterns and the quite distinct cricketing traditions which emerged in each centre. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of cricket within the ideals of "systematic colonisation" promoted by Edward Gibbon Wakefield - and especially as they relate to the primacy of Canterbury cricket within the New Zealand game.

Section II examines selected themes in the expansion and formalisation of New Zealand cricket between 1870 and 1914. Above all it addresses the process by which the upper echelon of New Zealand cricket became dominated by middle-class, white-collar professionals. Implicit is an account of the impediments to blue-collar participation and the conflicts which emerged between the various class groups competing for scarce cricketing resources. This section also identifies

bureaucratic, demographic and geographic obstacles which inhibited the expansion and standard of New Zealand cricket - and particularly its representative teams.

Section III is primarily concerned with international contacts by New Zealand cricket teams. It stresses both the close relationship between cricket and notions of imperial and inter-colonial unity, and the implications for a sense of colonial or national identity which arose from the consistent failure of New Zealand teams against international opposition. Ultimately, it can be concluded that although New Zealand embraced Victorian cricket ideals more thoroughly than many other parts of the British Empire, the standard and significance of the game was retarded by factors intrinsic to the social structure of New Zealand as a whole.

PREFACE

It is no simple coincidence that the growth of a "new" British Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by an even greater expansion of sport. By 1900 Britain had witnessed the reinvention and formal codification of a multitude of existing games and pastimes, the invention of many others and the establishment of sport as an integral part of society as a whole - and not least of the education system. A century later, long after Britain ceded her imperial prerogative, and in the three-quarters of the habitable world where no such formal mechanism ever existed, it is impossible to avoid the pervasive influence of sport and all that it entails. A wealth of diverse scholarship during the last two decades leaves no doubt that sport has been, and forever will be, inextricably bound to the workings of economies, political ideologies and cultural systems.

Nowhere is this phenomenon more apparent than in New Zealand - the most distant component of the British Empire. If one could assemble reliable scales to take account of sporting achievement in relation to population and available resources, there is little doubt that New Zealand would appear high on any world ranking. In athletics, rugby and yachting especially, successive generations of New Zealanders have refined techniques and defined standards. It is, then, surprising that in

cricket - the sport most commonly associated with Englishness and Empire - New Zealand has seldom stepped outside the shadow of its opponents.

The simplest objective of this thesis is to identify the factors which account for such a lack of development. The more complex task is to assess the role of cricket in relation to prevailing social, cultural and political attitudes. To do both requires a much wider appreciation of the interconnection between sport and society in both Britain and the British Empire.

There were numerous games and contests played and supported throughout Britain during the pre-Victorian period. Many were linked to seasonal festivals and parish holidays, but nevertheless possessed complex rules and strict customs. A select few sports, boxing, cricket, racing and rowing, attracted enough aristocratic patronage to enable significant levels of organisation and something of a "national" following by the late eighteenth century.¹ Yet it was only during the Victorian era that these initial excursions into organised sport were accepted as an important component of British society, embraced by a broad spectatorship and cemented by powerful national and international governing bodies.

In part, the transformation can be traced to a correlation between the emergence of modern society and modern sport. In explaining the evolution from the ascribed status of

¹. R. Holt, *Sport and the British*, Cambridge, 1989, pp.12-73. Holt also points out that many of the "traditional" sports, and cock-fighting in particular, remained popular well into the twentieth century despite official efforts to outlaw them.

individuals in traditional society to their achieved status in modern society, Allen Guttman highlights the emergence in the seventeenth century of secularism, equality, specialisation, rationalism, bureaucratic organisation and quantification. These coalesced to a more "scientific" world view characterised in the eighteenth century Enlightenment - a view which stressed empiricism above folk tradition. As Guttman summarises the sporting context, "The mathematical discoveries of the seventeenth century were popularised in the eighteenth century, at which time we can observe the beginnings of our modern obsession with quantification in sport".²

But the most dramatic transformation can be found in the twin forces of urbanisation and industrialisation occurring from the late eighteenth century. Urbanisation removed playing spaces and broke down the traditions of rural culture. Industrialisation contracted the working week and established leisure time in more clearly defined proportions - especially the Saturday half-holiday. These shorter hours, in conjunction with a higher disposable income, the expansion of rail and other transport networks after 1841, and the growth of the popular press in response to improving educational standards during the 1870s, all assisted the emergence of a much wider following for sport than had been previously possible.³

The question of how best to use new found leisure time

2. A. Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*, New York, 1978, pp.81-85.

3. K. Sandiford, "The Victorians at Play: Problems in Historiographical Methodology", *Journal of Social History*, Vol.15, No.2, (1981), pp.271-8; W.F. Mandle, "W.G. Grace as a Victorian Hero", *Historical Studies*, (April 1981), pp.355-6. The number of regular sporting journals in Britain grew from 14 during the 1860s to 87 by the 1890s.

was coupled with what Norbert Elias has termed "the civilising process". Gradual demilitarisation and the growing central power of the state, assisted by the main tenets of puritanism from the sixteenth century onwards, produced a much higher threshold against disorder, idleness and excess. The new evangelical spirit stressed sobriety, discipline and the Protestant work ethic. From the first years of the nineteenth century, blood sports such as animal-baiting and cock-fighting were being suppressed, as were the violent extremes of folk football and similar village activities. The emphasis shifted to "rational" and "improving" recreations which displayed control and conformity rather than traditional individualism.⁴

The development of New Zealand sport follows a broadly similar pattern. From the earliest days of settlement in the main North Island centres during the 1840s, sport emerged as a regular feature of anniversary days and public holidays. Aside from traditional village activities common for fairs and festivals, there were organised race meetings in Wellington from January 1841 and a large regatta in Auckland the following year. Formal institutions soon followed. A racing club was established in Wellington in 1848, and the first rowing club in Canterbury in 1861. Dunedin's Scottish origins were reflected in the playing of golf and in the inauguration of a Caledonian sports festival in 1863. Hunting and shooting were also popular among wealthier elements, with acclimatisation societies introducing game and attempts being

⁴. Holt, *op. cit.*, pp.28-44; Sandiford, *op. cit.*, pp.275-8.

made to breed foxes in Canterbury during the 1860s. While football was a relative latecomer, reflecting its mixed origins and lack of pattern within the public schools, there was a club in Christchurch by 1863, in Nelson by 1868, and inter-provincial contests by 1875. In a short time it would make the most significant progress.⁵

Urbanisation, industrialisation and a general technological advance changed the face of New Zealand sport as they had in Britain. Greater ease and efficiency of life in the growing colony left more time for sport, and in conjunction with improved communication, roading and rail links during the 1870s, enabled the crucial shift from intra- to inter-community activity. Again, in common with Britain, the major sports were formalised in national administrative bodies during the 1890s: soccer in 1891; rugby in 1892; cricket in 1894.⁶

While many sports encompassed the new objectives and values to a greater or lesser degree, cricket stands supreme. No other game has attracted such a large and diverse body of literature. No other game has had its virtues idealised and editorialised to anything like the extent of cricket. It has always been the pre-eminent vehicle by which the perceived higher values of sport have been conveyed to a wider audience.

The exalted position of cricket can, in part, be traced to

5. S.A.G.M. Crawford, "Muscles and Character are there the First Objects of Necessity: An Overview of Sport and Recreation in a Colonial Setting - Otago Province, New Zealand", *British Journal of Sports History*, Vol.2, No.2, (1985), pp.103-10; J. Barclay, "An Analysis of Trends in New Zealand Sport from 1840 to 1900", BA Hons. Research Essay, Massey University, 1977, pp.11-15.

6. Ibid.

its formal structures and institutions having been set in place long before the wider impact of the leisure revolution. In England, County matches were being played before 1720, a formal set of laws was published in 1744 and both royal and aristocratic patronage insured a wide following and respectability for the game during the eighteenth century. While football and other team games remained traditional and localised, cricket was able to seize the initiative with its single standardised form.⁷

Such a pedigree gave cricket a definite advantage during the nineteenth century. Amid massive social and technological change, industrialisation and urbanisation, cricket remained a stable and respectable force. Certainly it was cleansed of its eighteenth century excesses of gambling and corruption, but the basic form and principle of the play underwent only the most subtle alteration. Unlike soccer and rugby, there were no secessionist movements, with the amateur and professional components of cricket able to reach a relatively harmonious compromise.⁸ Moreover, in an increasingly xenophobic Victorian age, cricket was an exclusively English creation which conveyed tones of cultural and moral superiority. In the words of Keith Sandiford, "It was a ritual as well as a recreation, a spiritual as well as a sporting experience. Its values and its language came to be freely used by politicians, philosophers, preachers and poets."⁹

⁷ E.W. Swanton, gen. ed., *Barclays World of Cricket*, London, 1986, pp.1-12.

⁸ K. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, Aldershot, 1994, pp.19-33; J. Hill, "First-Class Cricket and the Leagues: Some Notes on the Development of English Cricket, 1900-40", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.4, No.1, (1987), p.69.

⁹ K. Sandiford, "Cricket and the Victorian Society", *Journal of Social*

Among the components of the formal Empire subject to greatest British immigration, only Canada has failed to adopt cricket as a leading sport - a failure explained in large part by its proximity to the power and influence of the United States. Australia, India, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies have all embraced the game and, to a greater or lesser degree, pursued it with success against England. In Australia, India and the West Indies cricket is undoubtedly the "national" game. In New Zealand and among white South Africans that mantle is occupied by rugby with cricket a distinct second.

The dominance of rugby over cricket among white South Africans must, for want of more thorough research, be explained in terms of the unique colonisation of that country and the marked divergence of interests and tastes between those of British and Dutch origin. It is revealing that a clear demarcation has existed - cricket as a predominantly British game with rugby in Afrikaner hands. Moreover, as much as South African cricket has assumed second place, it has not been without its share of international successes. The South Africans first won a series against England, albeit well short of full strength, as early as 1905-06 and a Test match against the full might of Australia in 1910-11. In the two decades before their expulsion from international cricket in 1970, they emerged as a major international force.¹⁰ In the "World XI" of Kerry Packer's World Series Cricket during the mid 1970s, players of the calibre of Mike Procter, Eddie Barlow, Garth La Roux, Clive Rice, Kepler Wessels and especially Barry Richards

History, (winter 1983), p.303.

¹⁰. For a summary of results, see Swanton, op. cit., pp.253-9, 309-16.

confirmed an abundance of South African talent.

New Zealand is clearly the oddity within the fabric of international cricket. Although cricket could claim to be the leading game in the colony until at least the early 1890s, it was gradually superseded. By 1905 rugby had established a stronger infrastructure and secured a clear monopoly on the title of "national game" during the first decade of the twentieth century. In contrast to South Africa, the secondary position of New Zealand cricket produced only sporadic moments of international respectability before the 1980s. The first test victory was not achieved until 1956 (West Indies), Australia were not defeated until 1974 and England until 1978.¹¹

In terms of emergent nationalism and the shaping of a distinct New Zealand identity, there is no doubt that rugby filled the void caused by a lack of cricketing success. Once control of rugby had been consolidated in provincial bodies, and with the establishment of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union in 1892, the game assumed a pivotal role in notions of national character and the maintenance of social cohesion in a colonial male population. Similarly, as with Australian cricket victories during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the remarkable performances of the 1905 and 1924 All Blacks on tours of Britain were readily interpreted by New Zealanders in terms of superior qualities of physique and social structure in the colony, and as proof of entitlement to a place of respect

¹¹. Ibid., pp.100-2.

within the Empire.¹²

But to substitute rugby for cricket in the New Zealand case is to miss the point. It is precisely the retarded development of New Zealand cricket that needs to be critically examined. The question is not simply why did New Zealand fail to grasp the opportunities of other cricketing nations? This is implicit in what follows. But how was such consistent cricketing failure interpreted by those with a proclivity to attach wider social and political meaning to a string of successes on the rugby field? Was cricket seen as having a part to play, as rugby did, in the shaping of national characteristics? Or did the comparative ineptness of its exponents relegate it to another level? Moreover, what is to be taken from the fact that New Zealand's most frequent cricketing calamities were not against England, the "mother country", but against Australia - her nearest colonial neighbour and a land with which parity was otherwise maintained in economic, political and social spheres. In short, as New Zealand rugby offered a multitude of positive signs for the future, did cricket perhaps linger in some minds as a reminder that much still needed to be done and that the colony was still very much dependent on Britain?

A strong imperial/international emphasis is inevitable in framing such questions. Only through contacts with touring

12. See J. Nauright, "Sport, Manhood and Empire: British Responses to the New Zealand Rugby Tour of 1905", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.8, No.2, (1991), pp.239-55; J.O.C. Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male*, Auckland, 1987, pp.81-130; L. Richardson, "Rugby, Race and Empire: The 1905 All Black Tour", *Historical News*, 47, (1983), pp.1-6; K. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Auckland, 1986, pp.143-56.

teams could New Zealand standards be assessed properly and improvements made visible to the outside world. But this aspect alone produces conclusions which are both disproportionate and superficial. International contacts were only possible when the total fabric of the game in any given country had reached a certain level. The ability to organise and conduct tours depended on individuals and institutions capable of successfully translating the essence of cricket from Britain to New Zealand.

The first section of this thesis is a detailed examination of the emergence of New Zealand cricket prior to 1870. Covering each of the four main centres - Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin - as well as Nelson, which also held first-class status from 1874 to 1892, its predominantly urban focus reflects the simple realities of New Zealand cricket during this period. With few exceptions, the structure of country cricket was governed by the limitations of distance, population and finance. Few rural localities fostered more than one club, and only on rare occasions, such as the visits of international touring teams, was a serious effort made to incorporate country players within provincial or national representative teams.

The different colonisation patterns of the various provincial settlements produced equally diverse cricketing traditions. In turn, the varied social origins of players within each locality determined a wide range of clubs and playing styles. This is most apparent in the elite beginnings of Canterbury cricket which paved the way for on field domination during the last quarter of the nineteenth century

and a disproportionate contribution to the formalisation and administration of New Zealand cricket.

As important as the various forms and styles of cricket is the way in which they interacted. In almost all areas the structure was to some extent hierarchical. Some clubs formed along narrow occupational or class lines, while others were "open". In consequence, some had greater access to equipment and facilities and their cricket flourished accordingly while others had avenues closed to them. Various controversies within Canterbury cricket, and more directly in Otago cricket during the 1880s, highlight a longstanding current of class antagonism within New Zealand cricket.

Section Two is initially concerned with an examination of these class relationships and the extent to which the power of the leading clubs of the formative period was maintained amid significant changes in the nature and extent of working class participation during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Critical to this process is the relationship between the various clubs and the historical geography of the main centres. To what extent, for example, did specifically working class suburbs produce cricket clubs of a similar nature? In this context attention is paid to the social and structural origins of the formal institutions of New Zealand cricket - the provincial associations formed in the main centres between 1875 and 1883 and the New Zealand Cricket Council formed in 1894. While the careers of many leading players were relatively short, those of administrators frequently ranged over three or more decades. Certainly they brought continuity to New Zealand cricket during crucial years of development.

But it is equally apparent that their ideals and objectives were not always in accordance with those of the players.

The role of school cricket is also paramount to New Zealand's cricketing consciousness. Throughout the Empire athleticism generally, and cricket especially, was fostered in a wide range of establishments which aimed to replicate English public school ideals. In New Zealand the essential ideology, and the headmasters who espoused it, had a lasting impact. The likes of C.C. Corfe at Christs' College and Joseph Firth at Wellington College not only propounded the direct moral and physical qualities of cricket to the personal development of their pupils, but placed much stress on its wider social context - and especially its role within the Empire.

But this account of growth in New Zealand cricket must be balanced with an underlying sense of failure. Put bluntly, cricket did not capitalise on the start that it was given. The first cricket clubs were formed at least twenty years before the first football club - Christchurch in 1863 - and the first inter-provincial cricket matches were played fifteen years before those in rugby. But the initiative had been lost by the early 1890s. The first New Zealand rugby team toured Australia fifteen years before, and Britain twenty two years before, its cricketing counterpart. The formation of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union preceded the Cricket Council by two years. Contemporary explanations which highlight everything from the rise of tennis to the constrictions of the climate, suggest that the shift in sporting emphasis can be traced to certain factors specific to cricket and others

inevitable within the fabric of New Zealand society as a whole.

By necessity what follows is predominantly a history of the upper echelons of New Zealand cricket - the senior club, interprovincial and international arena - termed "representative" cricket for the purposes of this thesis. The tendency of the New Zealand press to cover only the highest grades of cricket makes for difficulty in assembling a workable picture of its other components. Moreover, the nature of working hours and blue collar occupational mobility throughout the nineteenth century ensured a lack of continuity and durability among their cricket clubs. The participation of these groups had certainly increased by the early twentieth century, but blue-collar clubs and competitions tended to operate in isolation from the mainstream of cricket as perceived by the public.

Existing accounts of New Zealand cricket do not serve the objectives of social historians particularly well. Typically, only scant attention is paid to the period before 1880 - treating it as something of a rustic and incoherent prelude to the formal mechanisms of the game. The "beginning" points are frequently seen as the creation of the main centre provincial associations established between 1875 and 1883 and the New Zealand Cricket Council established in 1894. The definition of "New Zealand cricket" extends little beyond the activities of provincial and national teams. While there are no shortage of excellent regional monographs and statistical compendia, they appear rather as a series of local vacuums. They do not give cricket a meaningful social context

within the surrounding community, or an inter-provincial comparison to demonstrate the manner in which the diverse social origins of New Zealand's major settlements produced equally diverse structures and attitudes within their cricket.¹³

There is much to be gained from comparisons with models of development and patterns of participation in Australia, India, South Africa and West Indies to determine the degree to which New Zealand cricket conformed to prevailing trends. There is, for example, a common thread of military involvement, as strong in Auckland as it was in Calcutta. Likewise there were broad similarities between the social origins of leading administrators in New Zealand and Australia. But there were equally significant discontinuities - bureaucratic, climatic, demographic and financial - which ensured that the structure of New Zealand cricket and its opportunities for expansion followed a markedly different course to those in Australia. When these are detailed it becomes easier to understand why New Zealand cricket struggled for recognition and success at a time when Australia, and to a lesser extent South Africa, were forging strong international reputations.

The structural difficulties faced by New Zealand cricket are inevitably reflected in the rhetoric which accompanied the game. "Imperial cricket" and "muscular Christianity" were as

¹³. George Griffiths' work on early Otago cricket provides an exception to this rule - although his published pamphlets are limited to accounts of particular individuals and his more substantial manuscript remains unpublished.

much a phenomena in New Zealand as anywhere. But without the advantages enjoyed by Australia, New Zealand cricket languished. As rugby, and especially the 1905 All Blacks, carved a vital niche in conceptions of national identity, reactions to cricket in 1914 were in many respects little different from those of fifty years earlier. While Keith Sinclair and others have traced the growth of "a destiny apart" in New Zealand, cricket encompasses elements at the other end of the spectrum which lingered well into the twentieth century. For every rugby success which could be turned to demonstrate the vitality of New Zealand life and the right to an important function within Empire, there was a cricket tour to highlight limitations, insecurities and the reality that New Zealand was one of the smallest components of a much larger scheme.

These imperial and inter-colonial themes are at the heart of Section Three. But at the same time they are essentially the preoccupations of an interested elite - predominantly of middle class "gentlemen" shaped by a public schools or Oxbridge tradition. While these men shaped the public face of New Zealand cricket, it is quite apparent that this was not representative of the society as a whole. The discontinuity with the working class is clear enough. Equally pronounced was the conventional Victorian chauvinism which marginalised and trivialised women's cricket. More surprising was New Zealand's failure to embrace the widespread notion of cricket as a bonding agent between races. Only very occasionally did Maori players appear on New Zealand cricket grounds, and only five can be identified at first-class level

prior to 1914.

The internal politics of cricket administration impose their own limitations on imperial and moral rhetoric. In the Australian case, David Montefiore shows that throughout the 1880s any notion of cricket as a unifying force in Australia was repeatedly sabotaged by inter-colonial rivalries, financial wrangling and disputes between players and administrators.¹⁴ Similarly, any ascriptions of moral and political meaning attached to New Zealand cricket must be set against ongoing rivalries and antagonisms. As much as it provided an administrative focus, the New Zealand Cricket Council also provided a staging ground for sustained provincial and personal bickering. As with its Australian counterparts, the Council was frequently the target for derision and suspicion.

Finally, as the great majority of source material in this thesis is drawn from newspapers, it carries with it the vexed question as to the degree to which the press created or reflected public opinion. The quality of the press, and of the sporting press especially, also varied considerably throughout New Zealand. The scope of sporting publications in Canterbury and Otago is much superior to those in the North Island - a situation which at once reflects the greater sporting consciousness of Canterbury in particular, but also raises the danger of inflating this even further simply because the sources are accessible.

¹⁴. D. Montefiore, "Cricket in the doldrums: the struggle between private and public control in Australian cricket in the 1880s", Australian Society for Sports History, *Studies in Sports History*, No.8, 1992; R. Cashman in W. Vamplew & B. Stoddart, eds, *Sport in Australia*, Melbourne, 1994, p.62.

Even with these limitations, there can be no doubt that cricket held an important role in the New Zealand psyche before 1914. Those sceptical of a coherent relationship between sport and society will find that the game was nurtured by the highest echelon of public figures, educators and journalists. What transpired on the field, and especially with regard to New Zealand's long struggle to make any headway in the international arena, can not obscure the intention and idealisation of successive generations of New Zealand cricketers and administrators. To this end, the overriding purpose of this thesis is an exploration of the gap, and sometimes tension, between objective and reality.

A NOTE ON OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

To understand the fabric of New Zealand cricket it is necessary to draw on much information relating to the social origins and occupational status of its central figures. Occupation provides a sound basis in that it serves as a fair indicator of income and hence life chances and lifestyle. Higher status occupations imply the means to attain them - access to capital, education, skills. Moreover, occupational choice is generally determined by an appropriately supportive social network.¹⁵

Yet occupation *per se* poses a number of problems as a test of social status. The most immediate is the knowledge that all published statistics have limitations - especially insufficiently detailed occupational titles. For example; does "engineer" refer to a professional, a mechanic, an assisting labourer, a consultant employer, a government employee?¹⁶ Added to this is the problem of equivalent titles - establishing continuity when two or more descriptions are used for the same job - or even by the same person on different occasions.¹⁷ Further, as Michael Katz reminds us, the conception of certain occupations has changed over time; the title "bank cashier" which might now be denoted as routine

15. C. Toynbee, "Class and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.13, No.1,(1979), p.71.

16. Ibid, p.73.

17. M.B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, III, (summer 1972), p.69.

clerical work, may previously have signified a bank manager.¹⁸ Moreover there is no systematic historical analysis of the prestige accruing to different occupations or their various educational and skill requirements. In a nineteenth century context there may be other criteria than a conventional manual/non manual distinction between occupations.¹⁹

There are also special considerations relating to New Zealand and to colonial societies generally. Above all there is a much greater instance of occupational and social mobility. As an expedient in new colonial environments, men developed skills and assumed jobs for which they were not formally qualified. Hence there is a deception in ascribing an individual with a particular job at a single point in time.²⁰ An alternative might be to devise a social scale based on property ownership - or more specifically, freehold land ownership. Miles Fairburn is one to argue this case, employing the rationale that "land is power, power is land".²¹ However, the only easily accessible source for such a study, the 1882 Freeholders Register, has only limited application beyond the mid 1880s. Significantly though, Claire Toynbee's analysis of the Register reveals some large discrepancies between occupational rank and levels of land ownership.²² The ideal measure of social status would obviously be a combination of occupation and land values.

One is obliged to absorb the various qualifications and

18. Ibid., p.64.

19. Ibid., p.69.

20. Toynbee, op. cit., p.72.

21. N. Beckford, "Working Class Participation in Wellington Club Cricket 1878-1940", BA Hons Research Essay, Victoria University of Wellington, 1981, p.5; M. Fairburn, "Social Mobility and Opportunity in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.13, No.1, 1979.

22. Toynbee, op. cit., Passim.

persevere with occupation as a determinant of social status. Indeed the deception presented by occupational titles may be an important factor in itself. What is frequently apparent in the leading New Zealand cricket clubs is that their criteria for membership was derived from perceived occupational and social status and not from the reality behind it. Leading public figures, and cricketers, such as J.E. FitzGerald, Henry Sewell and Julius Vogel were far from financially secure.

Where possible, recourse has been had to more than one source in determining the occupation of a cricketer, and to supplementary biographical detail. Most obvious is the effort to identify public school and Oxbridge players and to detail their activities outside cricket. The ideal of the schools was always that sport should serve as discipline and a grounding for business, administration and service in a wide range of public affairs.

Yet clear identification is often made difficult by the paucity of player initials in team lists published by newspapers, and by the numerous errors and inconsistencies that can be found within these lists. As an overall principle, epitomised by Canterbury cricket, the quality and depth of information that can be found for individual cricketers correlates positively with occupational status - the more prestigious the individual and occupation, the better the detail.

In the interests of clarity and brevity, the period after 1880 is treated with a more general occupational survey technique derived largely from electoral rolls. This traces the

personnel of senior club teams and provincial association executives in the four main centres in 1880, 1890 and 1900. To bring consistency to this process, essential in a survey conducted at ten year intervals, it is important to work from a consistent "social scale". That which follows is derived from Claire Toynbee's analysis of the *Return of Freeholders of New Zealand (1882)* which was in turn derived from Stephen Thernstrom's examination of social class in nineteenth century Boston.²³ It is by no means a definitive statement on class in nineteenth century New Zealand. Rather it serves to establish a convenient formula by which broad groups of individuals can be distinguished from each other.

I: High White Collar

1 professionals

architect
solicitor
clergyman
doctor
teacher (secondary)

2 major proprietors, managers and officials

merchant
manufacturer
banker
hotelkeeper
builder or contractor
sheepfarmer

II: Low White Collar

3 clerks and salesmen

auctioneer
agent
clerk

²³. Ibid; S. Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964; *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973.

- accountant
- 4 semi professionals
 - photographer
 - surveyor
 - journalist
 - school teacher (primary)
- 5 petty proprietors, managers and officials
 - storekeeper
 - fruiterer
 - grocer
 - draper
 - policeman
 - farmer
 - settler

III Blue Collar

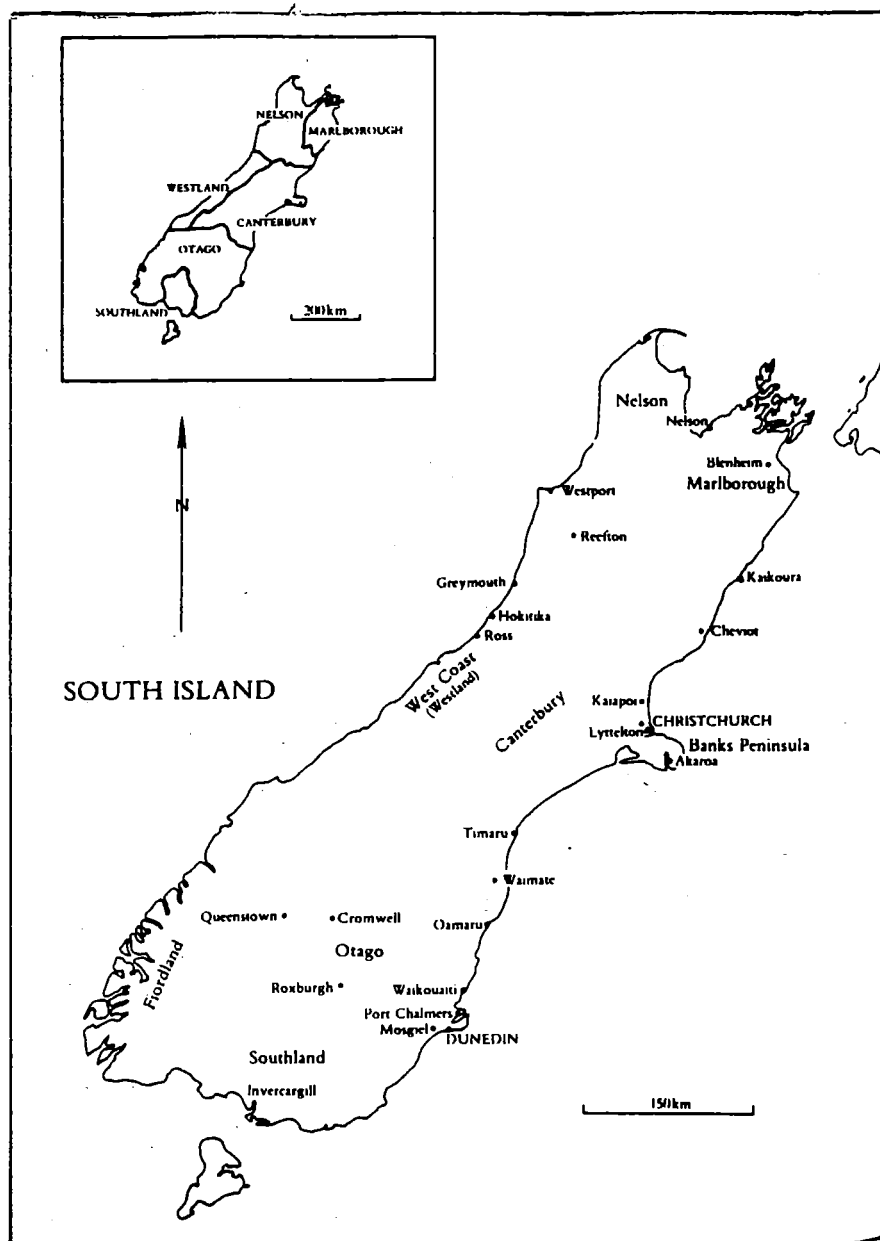
- 6 skilled
 - carpenter
 - saddler
 - compositor
 - printer
 - plumber
- 7 semi-skilled and service workers
 - carter
 - shepherd
 - dairyman
 - sawyer
- 8 un-skilled labourers and menial service workers
 - groom
 - labourer
 - seaman

To achieve meaningful results from an analysis of occupational status demands modification to the "melting pot" technique employed by Nigel Beckford and Miles Fairburn. In both cases, certain comparative demographics are derived by placing the occupations of individuals together in a single group from which overall percentages for the cricketing

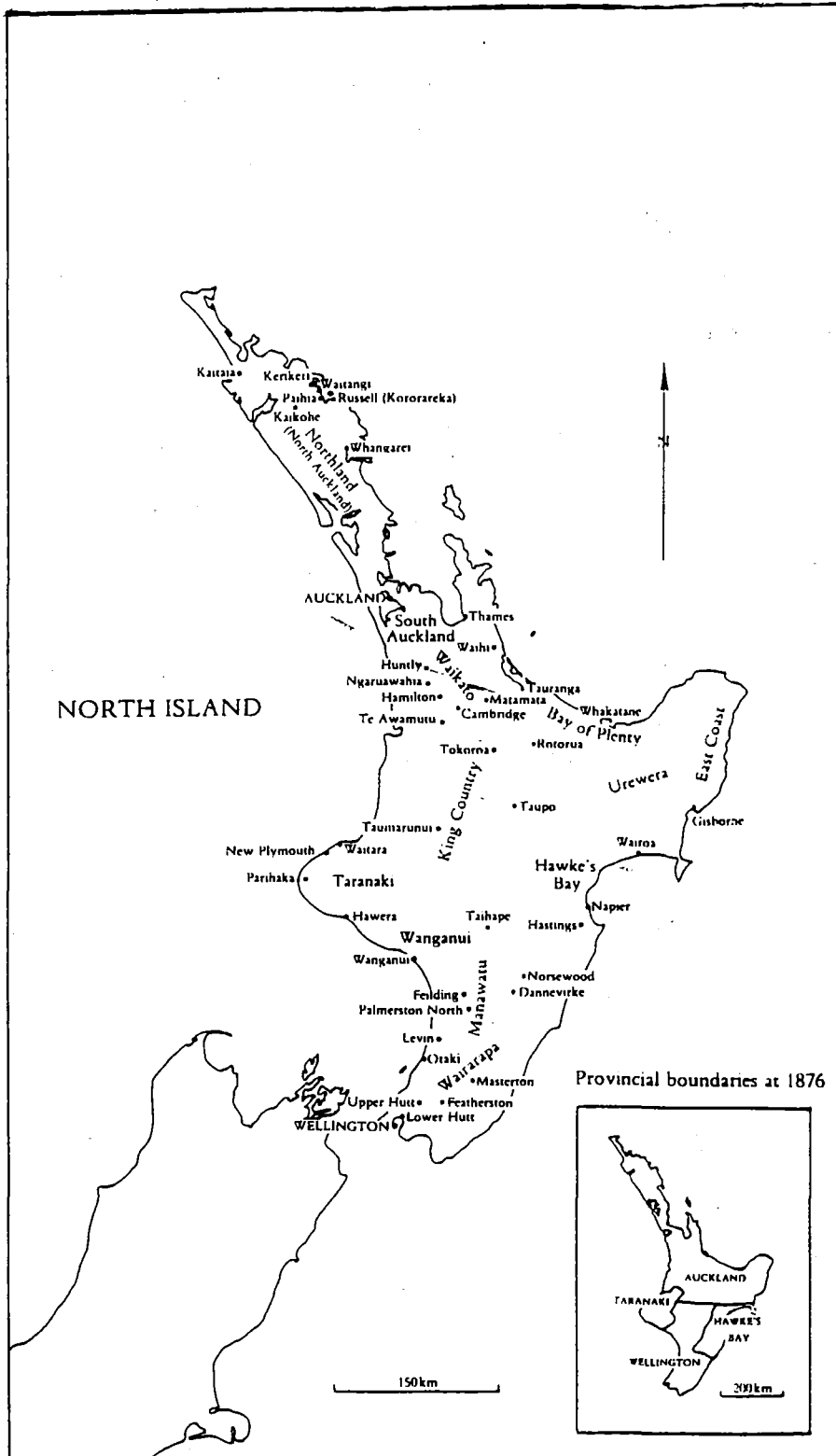
participation of each class are calculated.²⁴ While this may be useful in determining certain degrees of change over time, it obscures important issues of hierarchy and control within the components of the group. Beckford's discovery of a marked percentage increase for "blue collar" participation in Wellington cricket from the 1890s does not reveal either that their clubs were distinct components within clearly delineated local club hierarchies, or that the competition they now entered was governed by an elite which remained relatively unchanged despite its numerical decline. An awareness of the differing social composition of the various clubs, in terms of both players and administrators, and of the manner in which the clubs interacted, is therefore the key to handling occupational statistics.

²⁴. Beckford, op. cit., passim: M. Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies*, Wellington, 1989.

SOUTH ISLAND MAIN TOWNS AND PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES



NORTH ISLAND MAIN TOWNS AND PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES



SECTION I

DISPARATE ORIGINS

The first reference to cricket in New Zealand comes from the journal of Henry Williams - one of the most noted early missionaries. After conducting school examinations for the English children of settlers at the Bay of Islands, Williams supervised a cricket match at Pihea on 20 December 1832 - noting "Very expert, good bowlers" in his diary for that date.¹ By the end of the following year Williams had apparently imported cricket equipment from England and arranged further matches, possibly including local Maori who were associated with the mission station.²

On 21 December 1835, during the historic voyage of *HMS Beagle*, Charles Darwin noted young Maori men playing cricket with the son of a Missionary at Waimate, Bay of Islands..

These young men & boys appeared very merry & good-humoured; in the evening I saw a party of them playing cricket; when I thought of the austerity of which the Missionaries have been accused, I was amused at seeing one of their sons taking an active part in the game.³

Undoubtedly there was other cricket during the late 1830s, perhaps even organised matches involving both Maori and European players. Mention is certainly made of another game at

¹. L.M. Rogers, ed., *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*, Christchurch, 1961, p.268. See also, K.J. Nobbs, "History of the First Recorded Cricket Match in New Zealand", unknown source, Te Kauwhata, 1990.

². T.W. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket: 1914-1933*, Christchurch, 1936, p.13.

³. R. Darwin Keenes, ed., *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, Cambridge, 1988, p.390.

the Bay of Islands during 1841.⁴

With only these sparse references to draw on, solid conclusions can hardly be reached. But it is safe enough to suggest that the activities of Williams and his colleagues were no simple coincidence. Under the banner of "muscular Christianity" organisations such as the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society contributed a great deal by the end of the nineteenth century to the development of cricket in areas as diverse as Afghanistan, Barbados, Ceylon and Srinagar. In the finest public school and Oxbridge tradition, from whence the majority of the leading missionaries were recruited, healthy sport and the discipline it embodied was seen as an ideal complement to the civilising properties of Christianity.⁵ The involvement of Maori players in these early games would seem to fit perfectly within the prevailing conception of Missionary duty - and more so when one considers that more Maori probably appeared in these earliest matches than have subsequently participated in New Zealand first-class cricket.

Despite these early missionary initiatives, New Zealand cricket was soon to become a predominantly urban game. Tracing its development in the four main centres and Nelson from 1840 to 1870 requires both a general thematic contour

4. Reese, op. cit., p.15. Nobbs, op. cit., refers to the German explorer Ernest Dieffenbach witnessing a game at Kaitaia in 1841. I have been unable to locate further details in Dieffenbach's journal.

5. J.A. Mangan, "Christ and the Imperial Games Fields: Evangelical Athletes of the Empire", *British Journal of Sports History*, Vol.1, No.2, (1984), pp.184-88; B. Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response in the British Empire" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.30, No.4, (October 1988), p.655;

and a series of individual case studies. While there were common themes in the settlement of New Zealand - systematic colonisation, the presence of military garrisons and the impact of gold discoveries, there were also marked variations between areas of settlement and between time periods.

With the exception of Auckland, all of New Zealand's main settlements owed their existence to the principles of systematic colonisation and the energies of its most ardent proponent Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Where Wakefield's ideal of a carefully selected and closely regulated society on the model of eighteenth century rural England was applied most successfully - in Wellington during the early 1840s and in Canterbury during the 1850s - cricket emerged as an important community institution. In the hands of local elites, cricket clubs served to enhance social cohesion and class delineation in a new and raw colonial environment, and to facilitate the integration of recent arrivals into the existing society. Above all there is a strong continuity between cricket and middle class institutions of social and political power. In so far as there was working class cricket during the brief Wakefield ascendancy, it was a quite separate, and somewhat marginal, entity. Only in the late 1860s, for example, did artisans begin to achieve a foothold in the Canterbury game. Even then, the strongly English character of the province consolidated a powerful infrastructure which ensured domination of New Zealand cricket for the entire period covered by this thesis.

The struggle of Auckland and Wellington cricket during the 1850s and '60s, and of Nelson cricket over a much longer

period, represents the inverse of the Wakefield scheme and the substitution of a more random social structure. Without the artificial stimulus of deliberately transplanted patronage, the game struggled to transcend the multiple hardships of an unyielding colonial geography and constricted economy which made few concessions to leisure. In Auckland and Wellington the presence of large garrisons filled the void created by an absence or collapse of Wakefieldian initiatives. Yet this was a fairly precarious substitute. The extremes of relative peace during the 1850s and conflict during the mid 1840s and 1860s impacted on cricket by reducing the military presence in the main centres. During these periods cricket struggled for any sort of continuity.

The almost total absence of cricket in Otago during the 1850s illustrates the same point in a rather different way. Otago did not want for the guidance of a Wakefieldian systematic structure. But it was one which was deliberately Scottish Presbyterian, to some extent anti-English and certainly opposed to the traditions of English leisure. Otago cricket benefited most from the injection of population and capital brought by gold discoveries during the early 1860s - a theme which may also be applied to some extent in Nelson and rural areas around Auckland.

But as much as there are general reference points against which cricket can be tested, there is also a significant lack of continuity between the composition and experiences of New Zealand's earliest settlements. Each had its own distinct social, cultural and economic origins, and communication between them was always sporadic during the nineteenth

century. Under these circumstances, the different cricketing traditions of the main centres remained somewhat insulated from each other. Indeed this insularity had a distinct bearing on the shape the game took when it expanded to a provincial and national level. Tensions between the priorities of the various long established local structures and hierarchies placed blinkers on a wider conception of New Zealand cricket and saddled it with a good deal of internecine bickering prior to 1914.

CHAPTER ONE

SUFFERING THE POVERTY FEVER

CRICKET IN WELLINGTON 1840-70

The beginning of New Zealand cricket proper - with a formalised club and some attempt to play on a consistent basis - is to be found in Wellington. By February 1841, thirteen months after the arrival of the first body of New Zealand Company colonists, there seems to have been a quite active cricket fraternity in Wellington. Ensign Best, in his *Journal* for 15 to 17 February 1841 mentions a match - presumably including military players,¹ while the possibility of another between "All Wellington" and the "Bachelors Club" was most enthusiastically anticipated by the *New Zealand Gazette & Wellington Spectator*.

Cricket: We have great pleasure in recording that a cricket club has been established at Wellington, by a number of young men, who are anxious that so manly an exercise should not be forgotten in the Antipodes. Several games have been played during the last fortnight on Thorndon Flat, for the purpose of practise: and some excellent science displayed. We hope to see this club prosper. New Zealand is admirably adapted for the game, as the climate will permit its being played throughout the year.²

Such a charitable attitude to Wellington weather would be questioned by many cricketers in later years.

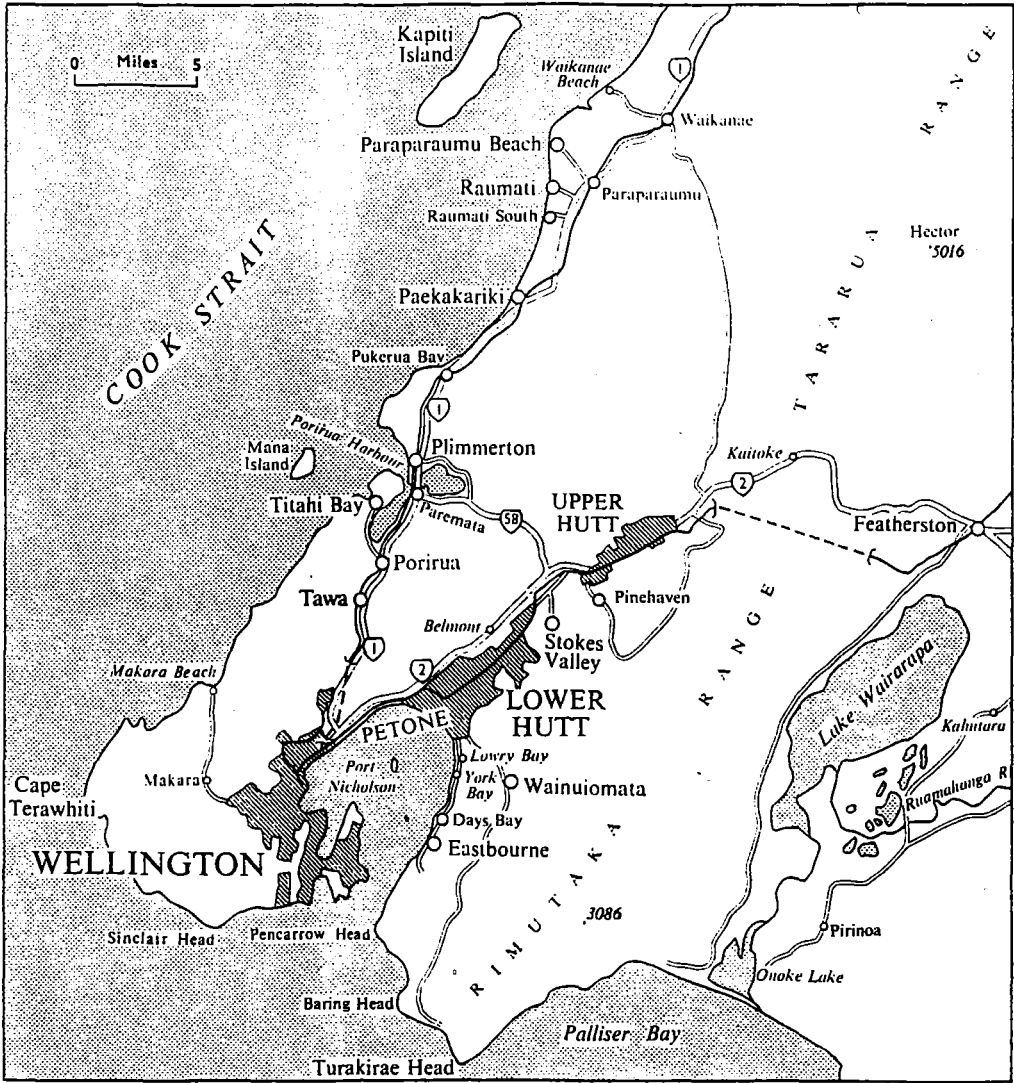
If so promising a beginning was sustained, it escaped the

* As one Wellington newspaper altered its name frequently during the 1840s, (*New Zealand Gazette*, *New Zealand Gazette & Britannia Spectator*, *New Zealand Gazette & Wellington Spectator*, *New Zealand Spectator & Cook Strait Guardian*), the abbreviated title *Spectator* is used in these notes.

¹. N.M. Taylor, ed, *The Journal of Ensign Best*, Wellington, 1966, p.275.

². *Spectator*, 20 February 1841, p.2. Several references to the formation of a cricket club in May 1840 can not be substantiated.

MAP 1.1
WELLINGTON AND ENVIRONS



Source: A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

notice of the local press, and there appears to have been no cricket during the 1841-42 season. But in November 1842 a Wellington Cricket Club (WCC) was formed with the patronage of many leading colonists. In December, the Albion club was formed by tradesmen.³ Wellington played its first internal match in late December, attracting an encouraging review from the *Spectator*.

HOLIDAY SPORTS

We notice with pleasure that the members of the Wellington club played a match between themselves, and one in which all may be said to have been winners, as after the sports of the day, they adjourned to the Ship's Hotel, where they partook of a true Christmas dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, and so equally were the parties matched that it was difficult to say who first bowled out his neighbour.⁴

Amidst the festivities, the "Blues" defeated the "Reds" by an unknown number of wickets - 67 and 59 notches to 60 and 64. But in its first encounter with Albion in late January 1843, the WCC was defeated by an innings.⁵

The formation of these first cricket clubs, and the differences that can be found in their composition, were as deliberate as any acts in the settlement of Wellington. To appreciate this is to appreciate the nature of Wellington as a New Zealand Company venture incorporating Edward Gibbon Wakefield's ideals of "systematic colonisation". Indeed the significance of Wakefield's principles to the formative structure of New Zealand cricket demands that they be considered at some length.

³. *New Zealand Colonist & Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 4 November 1842, p.3; 8 November 1842, p.2.

⁴. *Spectator*, 28 December 1842, p.2.

⁵. *New Zealand Colonist & Port Nicholson Advertiser*, 27 January 1843, p.2. Scoring by the traditional method of notching all runs on a stick apparently remained in vogue for some years in New Zealand.

"Systematic colonisation" remains one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth century. Conceived by "colonial reformers" such as Robert Wilmot Horton, Robert Gouger and Charles Tennant, who sought to invigorate and formalise British colonial policy during the late 1820s, Wakefield was easily its most capable publicist. Like Karl Marx, he saw the inevitability of a class war as the rapid social change and tensions of the post-Napoleonic industrial revolution came to a head. Britain's population increased by 15% in the decade after 1821, leading to widespread unemployment and pauperism. Indeed, expenditure on poor relief increased from four million pounds in 1801 to nearly seven million in 1831.⁶

But Wakefield's solution to the problem, unlike that of Marx, lay not in a wholesale changing of the social order, but in the creation of a safety valve for the existing order. He expounded "an art of colonisation" - a set of almost scientific principles which would relieve social pressure by exporting population. His essential mechanism was a "sufficient price" on land - set at such a level as to both limit the number of landowners, and guarantee a regular workforce for those who did secure land. Labourers, unable to afford land, would be obliged to seek employment in the vicinity of landholding employers. With population distribution confined in this way, Wakefield saw a means of preventing the perceived chaos and dislocation of "frontier" settlements in Australia and North America. In short, his ideal was a close knit, agricultural

⁶ J. Daly, *Elysian Fields: Sport, Class and Community in Colonial South Australia, 1836-1890*, Adelaide, 1982, pp.6-7. See also P. Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company*, Wellington, 1989, p.11-42.

settlement where land policy regulated class relationships - a society with room for both "mechanics" and a leisured landowning class.⁷

Wakefield's objective was an essentially conservative preservation of the existing social and economic order, described by Keith Sinclair as "a vertical section of English society excluding the lowest stratum. It would form not a new people, but an extension of an old, retaining its virtues, but eliminating its poverty and overcrowding".⁸ Increasingly, in a mid nineteenth century context, these notions of society devoted a high place to the encouragement of sport.

In reality, such a theory provided many unsolvable problems - not least being "What was a sufficient price?". Many aspects remained untested and the basic failure of the scheme was due to problems both within and without the New Zealand Company. Nevertheless, the guiding principle has important implications. The first wave of Wellington settlers, if no other, was selected with an eye to age, class, occupation and gender balance. They at least represented Wakefield's intention to emulate and replicate. Hence cricket, an essential institution of England in general and its leisured class especially, emerged early and naturally when one might normally expect other amenities and causes to have taken priority. Indeed Wakefield wrote from Wellington in 1850, "I tell the boys in Summer time to play at cricket and play well, that those who are the best cricketers most likely will be the

7. K. Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1991, pp.57-61; W.D. McIntyre, ed, "Introduction" to *The Journal of Henry Sewell: 1853-7*, Vol.1, Christchurch, 1980, pp.31-2.

8. Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*, pp.60-1.

TABLE: 1.1
WELLINGTON CRICKET CLUB 1842-3

Traced: 18 of 26 members.⁹

Albert Allom	surveying cadet
Joseph Boulcott*	merchant
Edward Catchpool	printer/merchant
John Dorset*	surgeon
John Fuller	publican
Abraham Hort Jr*	merchant
James Inglis*	clerk
David Johnston*	clerk
Alfred Ludlam*	surveyor/farmer
William Lyon*	bookseller
George Moore	merchant
Charles Penny	merchant
John Stokes	doctor
John Wade*	auctioneer/landowner
John Howard Wallace*	auctioneer/merchant
Francis Yates	compositor
George Young	publican
A. Yule	clerk

* Members of first WCC committee.

⁹. Sources: A.H. Carman, *The Birth of a City: Wellington 1840-43*, Wellington, 1970, passim; D. Hamer & R. Nicholls, eds, *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*, Wellington, 1990, passim; F. Irvine-Smith, *The Streets of my City*, Wellington, 1948, passim.

best readers and writers".¹⁰ Such "systematic" principles were to have a much greater bearing on the development of cricket in Canterbury.

An air of earnest Wakefieldian endeavour is certainly evident in reports of the formation of the WCC. On 3 November 1842 the newly elected committee was instructed to draft formal rules and procedures for the Club to be adopted at a subsequent meeting.¹¹ Table 1.1 shows a group possessed of education, capital, respectability and initiative in public affairs. The overall composition of the club is unmistakably high white-collar.¹² Ten of the eighteen who can be traced belong to occupational categories 1 (professionals) and 2 (major proprietors/ managers/ officials). A further six belong to the Low White-Collar categories 3 (clerks /salesmen) and 4 (semi-professionals). Rather surprisingly one of those who can not be traced is the first Club president, H.S. Knowles. Further, there were undoubtedly other leading citizens who joined the club, but whose names can not be found.¹³

The Vice President, Joseph Boulcott, a merchant who later took up farming in the Wairarapa, was the son of a New Zealand Company director, John Eleker Boulcott.¹⁴ The Secretary, John Howard Wallace (1816-91) was a successful

¹⁰ E.G. Wakefield to Justice Chapman, 1 April 1850. Quoted in C. Lansbury, "A Straight Bat and a Modest Mind", *Victorian Newsletter*, Vol.49, Spring 1976, p.13.

¹¹ *New Zealand Colonist & Port Nicholson Advertiser*. 4 November 1842. p.3: *Spectator*, 9 November 1842, p.2.

¹² See pp.18-23 for an explanation of the occupational classification used in this thesis.

¹³ *New Zealand Colonist & Port Nicholson Advertiser*. 4 November 1842. p.3. This report suggests an attendance well in excess of thirty. Only 26 names can be definitely associated with the Club

¹⁴ Irvine Smith, *op. cit.*, p.61.

auctioneer and general merchant who also served as a member of the Legislative Council (MLC) and the Provincial Council (MPC) 1861-69.¹⁵ The WCC treasurer, William Lyon (1805-79), was a well educated former member of the London Geological Society. He was involved in the foundation of several early Wellington newspapers, the Mechanics Institute, and the first Masonic Lodge in New Zealand.¹⁶

Of the WCC committee, John Dorset and Alfred Ludlam were both to serve on the first Wellington Provincial Council, the later as speaker.¹⁷ Dorset (1807-56) was principal surgeon to the New Zealand Company and continued his practice in Wellington.¹⁸ Abraham Hort Jr, a Jewish merchant from London, was on the first committee of colonists elected in April 1840. His father was to play a larger role in Wellington public affairs.¹⁹ Among non committee members of the club, Edward Catchpool and George Moore stand out. Catchpool had a stake in several business interests from the early 1840s. His "Steam Saw and Grist Mill", possibly the first steam powered mill in New Zealand, was operational early in 1842. He also acted as a general merchant and as official printer of the shortlived *Colonist* newspaper.²⁰ Moore was one of Wellington's wealthiest merchants, MLC from 1848 and MPC 1853-54.²¹

15. Hamer & Nicholls, op. cit., pp.175-7. All references in this thesis to provincial or central government representation are derived from M. Fraser, comp, *The New Zealand Parliamentary Record*, Wellington, 1913.

16. R. Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Wellington, 1940, Vol.1, p.511.

17. Ibid, pp.505-6.

18. Hamer & Nicholls, op. cit., pp.175-6; Irvine-Smith, op. cit., pp.23, 25.

19. Scholefield, op. cit., p.414.

20. Hamer & Nicholls, op. cit., pp.93, 95, 110.

21. Ibid, pp.134,156,178.

Among the remaining members of the WCC are to be found three clerks, two publicans, a doctor and a compositor apprenticed to Catchpool. This is in unmistakable contrast to Albion - a club for working men. The seven members of this XI who can be traced reveal three carpenters, two labourers, a butcher and a rope maker. None of them figure in public affairs.²² While there is no evidence as to the procedures by which the WCC regulated its membership, the division between the two clubs was certainly deliberate - especially as Albion's innings victory over the WCC suggests that they possessed the better players. In the first efforts of cricketers at least, Wakefield's desire for an appropriate division between classes was preserved.

Just as the early appearance of Wellington cricket can be seen as consistent with the objectives of a Wakefield settlement, so its subsequent struggle might be linked to their failure. The career of both the WCC and Albion does not seem to have extended beyond the end of 1843, and there was probably no organised play during 1844-45. Such a lapse, common in Australia, New Zealand and North America, owes less to a loss of enthusiasm than to the incursion of many more pressing circumstances. By the late 1840s the game, as well as a strong military component, was marked by an openness in club structure and team composition. Unlike Canterbury a decade later, control shifted some way beyond the hands of an elite. Indeed, it was not until the mid 1860s,

²². Wellington Burgesses Rolls 1842, 1843, in Carman, *op. cit.*, pp.128-38, 173-6..

and the efforts of provincial politicians to secure a regular ground, that an ongoing continuity emerges between leading cricketers and leading citizens. Only then did the game prosper in Wellington.

Wakefield's plans for Wellington foundered on two key points. One was that investigations by William Spain, under the direction of the Crown, soon invalidated a large proportion of New Zealand Company land purchases and returned substantial quantities to the original Maori owners. Second, it soon became evident that agricultural settlement was not economically viable. Most of the land was in fact pre-eminently suitable for sheep - and exactly the kind of dispersed larger landholdings and isolated family farms that Wakefield had striven to avoid. With the collapse of the "sufficient price", workmen had greater opportunities to become landowners. There were consequently few "gentlemen" employers and no prospect of maintaining the idealised class relationship. The failure of the New Zealand Company to deliver on its key promises of land and labour inevitably led to departures, with perhaps only 85 of the original 436 colonists remaining in Wellington by 1848.²³

What emerged in their place was a colony more akin to the Australian and American experience. While there was always a gap between rich and poor, and a small clique tended to monopolise all public institutions, there was a general reaction against the English class system. Newly empowered landowners of more humble origin saw no reason to accept an inferior status. Moreover, those vestiges of the Wakefield

²³. Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*., pp.93-6; McIntyre, op. cit., pp.32-5.

ideal that remained were swamped during the early 1850s by a stream of random, unselected migrants who easily assumed the "levelling" social attitudes implicit in the new, unrestricted opportunities open to them. Indeed, the transformation of Wellington, and Nelson, by 1848 was such as to draw a damning critique from John Robert Godley - leader of the "systematic" Canterbury Association colonists and first president of the Christchurch Cricket Club; his verdict, "bitter, abusive, disloyal, democratic, in short, colonial".²⁴

Certainly the general dislocations and disappointments of Wellington also affected the cricketers. There is no sign of cricket in the press for almost two years until January 1846. The revival came with a series of matches between the military and civilians of the Britannia Cricket Club (BCC) played on a rough and windy ground at Te Aro Flat. While the military won the first encounter convincingly enough, the Club prevailed in the next two - in spite of repeated condemnation of their shoddy fielding.²⁵ A further series of military/BCC matches took place the following season, as well as several intra-club matches and one between "Settlers" and "Government Servants".²⁶

In large part, the revival was linked to the presence of a garrison in Wellington from the mid 1840s and the extension of an 1841 dictate that all barracks were to be accompanied

²⁴. Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*, p.96.

²⁵. *Spectator*, 17 January 1846, p.2; 31 January 1846, p.7; 21 February 1846, p.3.

²⁶. *Wellington Independent*, 28 November 1846, p.3; 3 March 1847, p.3; *Spectator*, 5 December 1846, p.3; 19 December 1846, p.3; 26 December 1846, p.3.

by a cricket ground.²⁷ Yet such a formal mechanism of support did not apparently impose the sort of earnest, moral purpose upon the civilian cricketers that had been hinted at in 1842. The few extant descriptions of BCC matches convey a tone of both festivity and laxity in their arrangement - nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the verdict of the *Wellington Independent* on the very one-sided intra-club match on 21 November 1846. "We had at first anticipated a more equal contest, and are yet of opinion that if a certain member of the losing side had partaken less of the donations of Bacchus, the game might have had a different result".²⁸ A report of the match played a week later was evidently more transfixed by spectators than cricketers. "Every one seemed pleased with their day's amusement, and we only regret that the day was not more congenial so that the fairer portion of creation might have enlivened the scene with their presence."²⁹ But any inclination towards a genteel environment for cricket was more than offset by rumours of heavy betting on the outcome of all matches - and especially those between the best teams of the military and the BCC.³⁰

The identifiable membership of the BCC shown in Table 1.2 reflects a general lack of pretension in Wellington cricket during the late 1840s. Only six of 21 can be assigned to the High White-Collar occupational categories 1 and 2 - compared with ten of eighteen for the earlier WCC. There were also at least one skilled (6) and four unskilled (8) players - against

²⁷. G.D. West, *The Elevens of England*, London, 1988, p.1.

²⁸. *Wellington Independent*, 28 November 1846, p.3.

²⁹. *Spectator*, 5 December 1846, p.3.

³⁰. *Ibid*, 26 December 1846, p.3.

TABLE: 1.2.
BRITANNIA CRICKET CLUB 1846-49

Traced: 21 of 31 players.³¹

Richard Baker	military officer
John Benge	labourer
Charles Brown	bricklayer
Edward Catchpool	printer/merchant
Charles Cator	barrister & solicitor
John Clout	labourer
Richard Deighton	surveyor/ interpreter
G. Galbraith	military doctor
Joseph Herbert	boatman
James Inglis	clerk
George Luxford	farmer/butcher
William Luxford	farmer/butcher
T.R. Master	military staff
James May	brewer
George Moore	merchant
Henry St Hill	magistrate/sheriff
Stephenson	clerk
John Howard Wallace	auctioneer/merchant
Henry Winteringham	groom
Francis Yates	clerk
Yelverton	military staff

³¹. Sources: Jury list, *Wellington Independent*, 11 February 1845; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, Historical, Biographical*, (hereafter CNZ), Wellington, 1897-1905, Vol.1, passim; Hamer & Nicholls, op. cit., passim.

one for the WCC. Only five can claim a reasonable public profile. Of these, Catchpool, Moore and Wallace have been encountered already. Charles Cator, a barrister and solicitor who died young, was at the centre of various community activities including the Committee of Public Safety formed in the wake of the Wairau incident in June 1843 when seventeen Europeans were killed in a land dispute with Maori near Blenheim.³² Of greater note was Henry St Hill who served the provincial administration in numerous capacities. He was Commissioner of Native Reserves for a period after November 1843, Magistrate and Sheriff of Wellington from 1845, sometime provincial auditor, MLC 1853-6 and unsuccessful contestant for the provincial superintendency in 1858.³³ Of the remaining players, John Clout, who had played for Albion in 1843, and Henry Winteringham were the best bowlers in Wellington well into the 1850s and James May was to be instrumental in initiating the first game against Auckland in 1860.

Yet the fortunes of the BCC remind us that cricket was a fairly peripheral aspect - fluctuating according to various other commitments and requirements of settler society. There was little, if any, play in the summer of 1847-48 or in the following year, and in February 1849 the BCC was finally laid to rest.

Died - at Barrett's Hotel, after a lingering illness of upwards of two years, the highly respected Britannia Cricket Club. Deceased suffered from the poverty fever, and in the absence of pecuniary aid, has met death in silence, deeply regretted by those who knew its indisposition, without being able to furnish the necessary assistance to prolong its existence.³⁴

³². Hamer & Nicholls, op. cit., pp.157, 59, 61.

³³. Ibid, passim; Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, pp.270-1.

³⁴. *Wellington Independent*, 7 February 1849, p.3.

Without the reserves of wealthy patronage that were to assist cricket during the 1860s, the BCC did not have the necessary capital or influence to establish a regular ground - let alone one that could be developed to encourage a reasonable standard of play. Added to this was the constriction imposed by Wellington geography. Nestled along a small stretch of coastline bounded by hills, there was very little flat land - and even less for recreational purposes. Throughout the 1840s games were played on rough surfaces at Thorndon, Te Aro Flat and the Mt Cook parade ground. The Basin Reserve, the home of Wellington cricket after 1868, was not formed until a major earthquake in 1855 transformed the Basin lake into a drainable swamp.³⁵

Wellington was not without a cricket club for long. In late November 1849 a well attended meeting formed the Wellington Cricket Club which claimed a full set of gear, 28 members and a healthy financial position when it played its first intra-club match in December.³⁶ Of the twelve members who can be traced, Catchpool, Clout, Deighton, Wallace and Winteringham had previously appeared. They were joined by H. Buck (storekeeper/blacksmith), Charles Diehl (publican), A. Heese (publican), A. Pringle (carter), H. Phillips (grocer), R. Knox (possibly a doctor) and William Fagg (seaman).³⁷ Other former Britannia players were undoubtedly involved, and the club again appears to be "open" in its composition.

³⁵. D. Neely, *100 Summers: The History of Wellington Cricket*, Wellington, 1975, pp.11-16.

³⁶. *Wellington Independent*, 28 November 1849, p.3; 5 December 1849, p.3.

³⁷. Jury lists, *New Zealand Government Gazette: 1841-57*, passim; Irvine-Smith, op. cit., passim.

But its life was seemingly shorter and more erratic than its predecessor. The few matches reported in Wellington from 1850 to 1857 involved military and general civilian teams - none of which was designated as a particular club. For three seasons, 1850-51 to 1852-53 the focus of all cricket was an annual three match series between the 65th Regiment and "Staff & Civilians". The majority of these matches were won by the Regiment.³⁸ A three match series was also played in January 1853 between "Officers" and "NCO's & Men" - the latter winning 2-1.³⁹

The departure of the 65th Regiment signalled the virtual extinction of Wellington cricket. Aside from a three match series in 1857-58 between teams variously described as "Thorndon" and "Te Aro" or "Town" and "Country"⁴⁰, there was no cricket reported in the *Independent* from January 1853 to January 1860. Cricketers had not been entirely idle behind the scenes, but they were prevented from taking the field by a familiar problem. A letter to the press following the surprise visit of an Auckland team in March 1860, lamented the lack of a suitable ground in Wellington; more so because the Provincial Council had apparently agreed to resolve the problem in February 1857.⁴¹

By January 1860 another club had emerged - the Hero Cricket Club which evolved by the beginning of 1862 into the Wellington Cricket Club - with almost identical membership.

³⁸. *Wellington Independent*, 14 December 1850, p.3; 4 January 1851, p.2; 17 January 1852, p.3; 26 January 1853, p.2.

³⁹. *Ibid*, 22 January 1853, p.3.

⁴⁰. *Ibid*, 30 December 1857, p.3; 9 January 1858, p.3; 30 January 1858, p.3. A speaker at a dinner following the first of these matches lamented the complete demise of cricket following the departure of the military.

⁴¹. *Wellington Independent*, 23 March 1860, pp.3&5.

TABLE: 1.3.
WELLINGTON CRICKETERS 1860-62

Traced: 14 of 22 players.⁴²

Bolton	bricklayer
T. Bould*	publican/farmer
W. Brewer*	clerk
A. Buck*	clerk
L. Buck*	postal clerk
C. Carty	labourer
W. Churchill	warehouseman
Dixon (2)	brewers
T.V. Harvey*	watchmaker
G. Phillips*	grocer or sawyer?
A. Ramsay*	wheelwright
N. Valentine*	publican
Lt White	military

* Wellington representatives

⁴². Sources: Jury list, *Wellington Independent* 11 February 1857, p.3; *New Zealand Directory for 1866-67*, Wellington, 1867, passim; *Wellington Independent*, 4 December 1869.

It played the customary intra-club "Married v. Single" matches as well as others against visiting military teams and one against "All Wellington including Military".⁴³ As Table 1.3 shows, Wellington cricketers were now even more likely to be blue-collar than in the 1840s. Six of fourteen belong to the Blue-Collar occupational categories 6, 7 and 8, while another three were clerks of uncertain rank. There are no players of public note to match Moore, St Hill and Wallace. Indeed, the Wellington team which was hastily assembled to play Auckland in March 1860 numbered among its members three clerks, two publicans, a wheelwright and a watchmaker. Levi Buck, undoubtedly the best batsman, later became a post office manager in Lawrence, Central Otago,⁴⁴ while Nathaniel Valentine provided good service to Wellington cricket with his hotel, variously in Wellington and the Hutt Valley, being used for cricketing meetings and match dinners.⁴⁵

The status of Wellington cricketers did not go unnoticed among contemporaries. The *Independent*, recognising that many of the players were working men and unable to afford travel, called for a public subscription to send the provincial team to Nelson and Auckland in December 1862. And after the later match, in which Wellington scored 22 in each innings to lose by 108 runs, the *New Zealander* lambasted the rustic and ill prepared Wellingtonians. "It is painfully evident that this manly game has few patrons among the upper classes of the community of Wellington: and this is much to be deplored"⁴⁶.

⁴³. Ibid, 10 January 1860, p.3; 14 January 1862, p.3; 4 February 1862, p.3.

⁴⁴. Ibid, 4 December 1869, p.3.

⁴⁵. Ibid, *passim*.

⁴⁶. *New Zealander*, 20 December 1862, p.5.

The criticism was not to be heeded for at least another three years. In the meantime the Wellington Cricket Club maintained a precarious existence dogged by apathy and a lack of suitable playing space. By all accounts it had ceased to function by the end of 1864, and the initiative was then taken up by the Victoria Cricket Club - a club of junior players formed sometime in late 1863. As well as organising matches against Porirua and boys teams from Thorndon and Te Aro, they took over all arrangements for the visit of a Nelson team in February 1864. Yet even these efforts could not generate enough enthusiasm for a public subscription to bring George Parr's "All England XI" to Wellington after their matches in Dunedin and Christchurch.⁴⁷

At the end of 1864 it was remarked that cricket was now being played with much greater spirit than in previous years. There were said to be four clubs in the Hutt Valley (although only Aglionby CC can definitely be traced) and two in Wellington - Victoria and I Zingari⁴⁸. Victoria gradually evolved from a junior team to include former provincial players such as W. Brewer, Buck and Harvey along with H. Edmeades (brewer), J. Gell (builder) and J. Stoddart (printer). I Zingari included two publicans and some former members of the Wellington club, but the rest are unable to be traced. Moreover, its position became somewhat complicated during 1865 when the Wellington CC revived, as did the Hero CC as a junior team.⁴⁹

47. *Wellington Independent*, 23 January 1864, p.3; 30 January 1864, p.2; 9 February 1864, p.2; 5 November 1864, p.3.

48. *Ibid*, 17 December 1864, p.3.

49. *Ibid* 21 November 1865, p.5; 12 December 1865, p.5.

Finally real progress began to be made on the matter of a permanent ground for Wellington - and specifically the development of the "canal Basin" swamp. The situation had become so acute at the end of 1864 that a correspondent to the *Independent* felt obliged to remind cricketers of the need for cooperation.

Do not imagine that because belonging to one club, you are opposed to the other. Cricket should always be treated with good nature, and it is only by a perfect unanimity and feeling existing, that success can be depended upon.⁵⁰

In November 1865 the three Wellington clubs - I Zingari, Victoria, Wellington - approached the Town Board with a proposal for joint rent of the Basin.⁵¹ There the matter rested for another year until a sub committee of the Town Board and cricketers eventually settled an agreement to rent the land for three years at £25 per annum. A public subscription had already raised £80 to cover rent and improvements.⁵²

Inevitably, bureaucracy had its revenge when a proposal was put before the Town Board to build a road through the centre of the Basin. However, strong representations on behalf of cricketers, and in the cause of public recreation generally, saw the road proposal withdrawn and the formal acceptance of the cricket ground lease by the Town Board in January 1867 - nearly ten years after the matter had first been raised.⁵³ In the meantime Wellington played a match against Nelson on rough sloping ground in Mr Thomas Clapham's paddock - due to

⁵⁰. Ibid, 20 December 1864, p.3.

⁵¹. Ibid, 21 November 1865, p.5.

⁵². Ibid, 11 December 1866, p.3.

⁵³. Ibid, 25 December 1866, p.3; 12 January 1867, p.5.

lack of any more suitable venue.⁵⁴

Such comparatively rapid progress towards securing the Basin Reserve is, in large part, a reflection of the far more influential men who became involved in proceedings during 1865 and 1866 and in the new Wellington Cricket Club formed in February 1868. To what extent this involvement can be linked to the transfer of New Zealand's capital from Auckland to Wellington in 1865 is a moot point. Almost certainly there were advantages to be gained from the presence of a group of influential politicians and public figures - of whom a good proportion were trained in the public schools and Oxbridge tradition. While the tradesmen and labourers still played the game, those who emerged as administrators were of an altogether different class. Looking firstly at the committee which met the Town Board in December 1866:

C.B. Borlase	W. Bromley
G. Crawford	W.J. Jordan
W.B.D. Mantell	J.W.A. Marchant
W.J. Tagg	G. Tattle
J.B. Wallace	

Wallace can not be located, and only occupations can be found for Jordan, Tagg and Tattle- two clerks and a compositor.⁵⁵ The others exerted a strong influence in Wellington, if not colonial, affairs. Charles Bonython Borlase (1820-75) came from a London legal partnership to Wellington in 1850. He secured large landholdings in the Wairarapa during the 1850s before serving briefly as MPC 1857-8 and continuously from

⁵⁴. Ibid, 14 February 1867, p.5; 19 February 1867, p.4.

⁵⁵. *New Zealand Directory: 1866-7*, passim.

1861 until his death. He was provincial solicitor, Member of the House of Representatives (MHR) 1865-71, member of the Wellington City Council 1870-4 and Mayor of Wellington 1874.⁵⁶ William Bromley (1816-88), variously recorded as a publican, clerk and warehousekeeper for the Customs Department, was at the same time a large landowner with extensive horse racing interests. According to T.W. Reese, he did more than any other to advance the cause of Wellington cricket and the Basin Reserve.⁵⁷ George Crawford (1810-80) was a prominent merchant and MPC 1861-9, 1875-6.. A champion rifle shot, he gave assistance to many Wellington sporting clubs.⁵⁸ Although he does not appear to have had any other involvement with cricket outside the Basin committee, Walter Mantell (1820-95) held many posts in provincial and colonial administration. Chief among these were Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago 1851-6; MHR 1860-5; sometime Minister of Native Affairs during the early 1860s; MLC 1866-95. He also founded the New Zealand Institute.⁵⁹ John William Allman Marchant (1841-1920), educated at Queenswood College, Hampshire, was a surveyor who became Chief Surveyor of Wellington Province 1879; Commissioner of Crown Lands 1884; Surveyor General for New Zealand 1901-6.⁶⁰

Such a group of established and rising public figures was guaranteed to make headway, and they achieved similar results when turning attention to the formation of a new United

⁵⁶. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, p.78.

⁵⁷. Ibid, Vol.1, p.97; D. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, Christchurch, 1927, p.24.

⁵⁸. Irvine-Smith, op. cit. p.189.

⁵⁹. Scholefield, op. cit. Vol.2, p.53.

⁶⁰. Ibid, Vol.2, p.54.

TABLE: 1.4.
UNITED WELLINGTON CRICKET CLUB
1868-70

Traced: 15 of 22 players.⁶¹

W. Allen	accountant
W. Brewer.	labourer
T. Buchanan	bank manager
J. Gannaway	stevedore
F. Goring	clerk
J.W. Jordan	labourer
P.Kinniburgh	painter
A. Lewer	sawyer
J. Maginnity	baker
D. McDougall	carpenter
W. Salmon	draper
N. Valentine	publican
S. Waters	clerk
N. Werry	clerk
J. Wilford	doctor

⁶¹. Sources: *Wellington Almanack 1868-74*, extracts, Wellington Public Library; *New Zealand Directory: 1866-7*, passim.

Wellington Cricket Club (UWCC) in January 1868. The status of the club was such that the Provincial Superintendent, Isaac Featherston, accepted the Presidency. Borlase and Major Campbell were the Vice Presidents, Jordan the Secretary, Tagg the Treasurer, with Bromley, Crawford and Marchant among the committee. Even allowing that the Presidency was an honorary position, its link with the Superintendent is testimony to the profile of the new club and of cricket generally. By February 1868 the UWCC had 40 members with a subscription of 10s/6d for playing members and 21s for honorary members - sums not entirely preclusive for working men.⁶²

Table 1.4. points to an open club which placed no impediment on membership other than an ability to pay the subscription. As an indication of egalitarian spirit, seven of the players belong to the White-Collar occupational categories 1, 2 and 3, while another seven belong to the Blue-Collar categories 6, 7 and 8. Overall this group is slightly occupationally superior to the Britannia teams of the 1840s, and markedly so to those at the beginning of the 1860s.

After defeat in their first outing against a Rangitikei XI in February 1868, the UWCC established firm control as the decade drew to an end - with the other clubs steadily disintegrating and being absorbed. Aside from intra-club activity, several matches were played against visiting naval teams; most notably *HMS Charybdis* in January 1869 and a series against *HMS Challenger* in January 1870. A meeting of the UWCC in November 1869 reported a very scientific approach to both play and practise, and the engagement of W.

⁶². *Wellington Independent*, 25 January 1868, p.4; 1 February 1868, p.5.

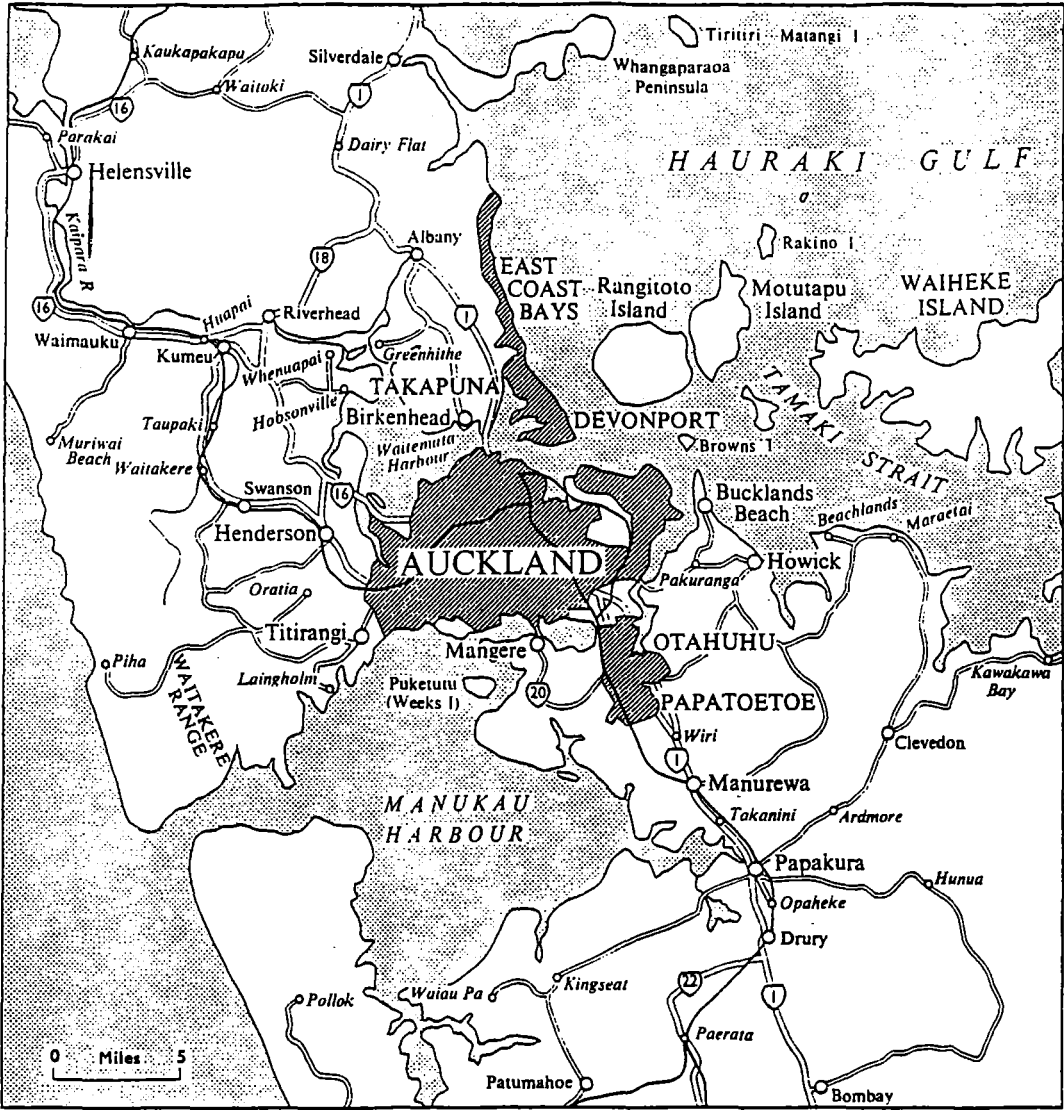
Brewer, the very successful provincial representative, as a professional bowler⁶³. The Basin Reserve, still far from a perfect playing surface, was nevertheless a vast improvement. It staged its first game, between *HMS Falcon* and the Wellington Volunteers, on 11 January 1868,⁶⁴ and thereafter provided the venue for almost all cricket played in Wellington through the early 1870s.

After many years of struggle, Wellington cricket had made surprisingly good progress after 1865. The advantage of a systematic Wakefield colonial origin, with its predisposition to replicating gentlemanly institutions and sports, had been mitigated by the failure of so much of that scheme and an unyielding local geography. Wellington had benefited from the presence of the military during the late 1840s and 1850s, but had missed out on the extra stimulus provided by the All England XI when it visited Canterbury and Otago in 1864. Although the social origin of Wellington as a whole lent itself to a greater openness and mixing among cricketers, these players tended to have little influence in public affairs. Only when experienced and influential politicians secured the Basin Reserve was sustained progress able to be made. Wellington teams were not to enjoy a great deal of success at interprovincial level, but they now had better than average facilities and played more first-class matches than any other province by the turn of the century.

⁶³. *Wellington Independent*, 20 February 1868, p.4; 5 January 1869, p.3; 18 November 1869, p.2; 11 January 1870, p.3; 27 January 1870, p.3.

⁶⁴. *Ibid*, 14 January 1868, p.4.

MAP 2.1
AUCKLAND AND ENVIRONS



Source: A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

CHAPTER TWO

A MILITARY DIVERSION

CRICKET IN AUCKLAND 1840-70

The greatest influence during the formative years of Auckland cricket came from the military. There were long periods when no civilian cricket club existed, and the game was sustained only by annual military matches and teams incorporating both military and civilian players. The lack of systematic settlement in Auckland, and its larger Australian and Irish population compared with Wellington, also had some part in shaping its cricket.

From 1840 to 1865 those with military connections composed a significant portion of Auckland's population. Prior to 1844 the garrison numbered less than 100. But reinforcements were soon dispatched from Sydney when Hone Heke and elements of his Ngapuhi tribe took arms against the British during 1844-45. By 1851 the garrison comprised 1267 of a total population of 8840. But the latter included 1700 discharged soldiers who had been established in garrison settlements around Auckland during 1847.¹

Apart from their numerical influence, it is likely that the military exerted dominance in Auckland cricket because the civil population lacked the landed English component which

¹ J.R. Phillips, "A Social History of Auckland 1840-53", MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1966, pp.68-72; See also, P. Curson, "Auckland in 1842", *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol.30, 1974.

had given initial impetus to the game in Wellington. If there was any systematic aspect to settlement in Auckland, it consisted of 500 distressed weavers from Paisley and 92 boys from the Parkhurst Reformatory who arrived in 1842 and the military pensioners in 1847.² A starker contrast could not be found to Wakefield's ideal of a class based society excluding the lowest stratum. Instead, Auckland grew haphazardly from commercial and trading interests, attracting land speculators and labourers from the Bay of Islands and Australia after Governor Hobson selected the site as New Zealand's capital in 1841. In the period 1845-51 there were 2155 arrivals from New South Wales and perhaps only 1500 direct from Britain. By 1853 it was estimated that half of the population had come from New South Wales, including many poor and a not inconsiderable number of ex convicts. Further eroding prospects for a leisured English tradition, the population was 31% Irish, and mostly poor Irish, compared with only 2% in Wellington. ³

The pattern of military cricket which developed in Auckland was certainly not unique. Indeed, the military played a critical role in the diffusion of the game throughout the British Empire. Long before the systematic formalisation of sport in Britain, it had begun to assume an essential function in military life - especially in India where as much as a third of the British army was stationed during the late nineteenth century. In part sport served a practical function. Polo, hunting

². Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp.68-72.

³. *Ibid*, pp.72-3; Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*, pp.49,100.

and horse racing were ideal for maintaining the fitness and efficiency of the cavalry. But more than anything sport was a way of keeping up morale, encouraging social contact and staving off boredom in isolated garrisons and outposts. As Richard Holt so neatly puts it,

Providing amusement for those far from home isolated amidst an alien and sometimes hostile population, sport was not so much a luxury as a necessity, a means of maintaining morale and a sense of shared roots, of Britishness, of lawns and tea and things familiar.⁴

While polo and hunting, and to an extent racing, remained the preserve of officers and gentlemen, and the various forms of football held only limited appeal in hotter climates, military cricket emerged as a sport where the main prerequisite for participation was ability.⁵

This broader base of participation is reflected throughout the cricketing Empire. Much of the impetus for cricket in India during the early years of the nineteenth century came from garrison teams, and it is no coincidence that the Maidans where most cricket is still played in Calcutta and Bombay were in front of Fort William and Fort George respectively.⁶ Similarly, early West Indian cricket arose from the activities of Caribbean garrisons during the post-Napoleonic period,⁷ and cricket was introduced to South Africa by British soldiers stationed at the Cape from 1795 until 1802. It expanded into Natal under the influence of the 45th Foot Regiment during the early 1850s.⁸ Meanwhile, Australian

4. Holt, op. cit., p.208.

5. Ibid, pp.208-11; J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*. London, 1986, p.21; G.D. West, *The Elevens of England*, London, 1988, p.1.

6. M. Bose, *A History of Indian Cricket*, London, 1990, p.20.

7. M. Manley, *A History of West Indies Cricket*, London, 1988, pp.20f.

8. Swanton, op. cit., pp.113-21.

cricket had flourished under military patronage. The first game in Sydney, in 1803, was probably between free settlers and army officers. The first club in the city was the Military Cricket Club formed in 1826, and the first match for which scores survive, played on 26 February 1830, was between teams designated "Military" and "Native Born". More than 2000 spectators attended an inter-regimental match in Sydney in 1832. Similarly, the first game played by the Melbourne Cricket Club following its formation in 1838 was against a military team.⁹

Cricket was probably being played in Auckland during 1841, and definitely by October 1842 when matches were arranged between "Garrison" and "Civilians" at Epsom and between the Albion Cricket Club and the "Kent". Whether the latter was a club or a visiting ships crew is not clear as detailed scores can not be found for any of these matches.¹⁰ There were certainly two clubs in Auckland during the following season. Albion continued to prosper and was joined by Union - a club for "mechanics" formed in November 1843.¹¹ No member of either club can be traced, but the designation "mechanics" for Union raises the probability that Albion fostered a degree of social exclusiveness. Matches between the clubs resulted in easy wins for Union in March and April 1844,¹² and a positive endorsement from the *Auckland*

9. J. Pollard, *The Formative Years of Australian Cricket, 1803-93*, North Ryde, NSW, 1987, pp.6-21,40-2.

10. Taylor, op. cit., pp.376,378.

11. *Southern Cross*, 25 November 1843, p.1.

12. *Auckland Chronicle & New Zealand Colonist*, 21 March 1844, p.2; 11 April 1844, p.3.

Chronicle.

We congratulate the lovers of this game with the very great progress they have made in this district, since their commencement, and trust the ensuing season to see them meet again with all that good feeling which has existed since its formation in Auckland.¹³

Almost inevitably after such optimism, there was little if any cricket played during the following season.

The reception given to a new Auckland Cricket Club (ACC) in December 1845 suggests that it served more than a recreational role. Amid increasing tension caused by the activities of Hone Heke, the Club was portrayed as a bulwark of calm and orderly Englishness.

Cricket - it is with much pleasure we announce that this truly British healthful recreation is again being practised at Auckland. While our friends in England may be excited and alarmed beyond measure by the receipt of the news of the warlike rebellious events occurring in the colony, it is rather anomalous [sic], but not less amusing, that the settlers are quietly yet earnestly making arrangements for the enjoyment of English sports. The Auckland Cricket Club have again taken the field under renewed and most favourable auspices. The members now exceed sixty, with anticipation of considerable additions to its pecuniary resources. We would suggest to our fellow townsmen to follow this example and during the summer months to renew their English practises and in honourable competition attain the honour so ardently contended for on the merry greens of old England.¹⁴

The ACC initially played matches on Bosworth field, thereafter on a ground donated by Colonel Hume. No mention was made of the Union club, and it appears that there was now only one club functioning at any time in Auckland until 1859.

Although a social distinction was apparently drawn between Albion and Union, it is likely that neither the former club nor the new ACC was ever as exclusive as the first Wellington Cricket Club. In so far as there was any leisured

¹³. Ibid, 11 April 1844, p.3.

¹⁴. *New Zealander*, 6 December 1845, p.2.

class in Auckland, most of it tended to revolve around a small group of government servants and staff whose claims to respectability were not taken entirely seriously by the majority of the population.

Governor Hobson had initially attempted to create an "aristocracy" based on the administrative function of colonial officials. This group tended to live in close proximity in areas such as Officials Bay and, later, Judges Bay.¹⁵ But, as S.M.D. Martin pointed out in a letter from Auckland in 1845, most of the population questioned both the competence of this group and whether they had the necessary social background to maintain their pretension.

The Government officers assume to themselves the highest place, simply, I suppose, because they live upon the rest. Both Captain Hobson and Mr Shortland endeavoured to establish what they called an "official aristocracy" - a class of exclusives consisting of the refuse of cast-off officers of the Botany Bay government.¹⁶

Gradually the officials were absorbed into the merchant/professional elite as Auckland became a society where status was derived from wealth rather than social origin or public function.¹⁷ Even then, the Auckland "gentry" remained a very small group. The census of 1844 reveals only 98 men classified as professionals or merchants in a population of 2754. Four years later there were 190 professionals and 207 merchants (including many small scale merchants who were non "gentry") in a population of c7000. In 1853 only about 200 invitations were issued for the "principal gentry of Auckland" to attend the Queen's Birthday Ball.¹⁸

¹⁵. Phillips, op. cit., p.75.

¹⁶. Quoted, Ibid.

¹⁷. Ibid, pp.76-7.

¹⁸. Phillips, op. cit., p.81.

TABLE: 2.1.
AUCKLAND CRICKETERS 1843-45

Traced: 11 of 23 players.¹⁹

Henry Appleyard	architect
Percival Berry	sheriff
James Derrom	carpenter/painter
G. Elliott	clerk
Falwasser	printer
Samuel Grimstone	secretary
Joseph Hargreaves	farmer
Christopher Harris	clerk
Frederick Merriman	barrister & solicitor
John Scott	gentleman/JP
Frederick Whitaker	barrister & solicitor

¹⁹. Sources: jury list, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 26 January 1842, 3 February 1844.

Consequently, while officials and staff are fairly well represented in all of Auckland's cricket clubs, the majority of players were drawn from an artisan and labouring background. The clubs, with only occasional exceptions, were egalitarian in structure.

The members of the ACC during the mid 1840s (Table 2.1) are more difficult to trace than most. The club was most likely reasonably "open" - perhaps imbued with a slightly greater air of respectability than its Wellington counterpart, the Britannia Cricket Club, during the same period. While five of the eleven players traced belong to the highest White-Collar occupational category, there were at least two skilled Blue-Collar players. Employing the standard convention that those who can not be traced were likely to be of more humble origin, the ACC undoubtedly included other artisans and labouring men among its members. At the same time, several of the remainder are drawn from the upper echelons of local and colonial administration. These men - Percival Berry, Christopher Harris, Frederick Merriman and Frederick Whitaker, with the later addition of William Martin and Charles Heaphy, constituted the core of the club into the 1850s.

Percival Berry was sheriff of Auckland throughout the 1840s and accumulated sufficient wealth to have at least three yachts built for himself.²⁰ Grimstone was secretary to various colonial administrators in Auckland and compiled the statistical *Southern Settlements of New Zealand* in 1847.²¹

²⁰. W.H. Oliver, gen. ed, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Vol.1.*, Wellington, 1990, p.318. (hereafter DNZB)

²¹. S.E. Grimstone, *The Southern Settlements of New Zealand*, London, 1847,

Joseph Hargreaves (1821-80) was a prominent landowner and horse breeder at East Tamaki and Kaipara. He was MHR for a short period in 1860.²² Frederick Merriman (1818-65) was Auckland Crown Solicitor and provincial land officer, MPC 1855-61 and MHR 1853-60.²³ Frederick Whitaker (1812-91) was one of the most regular Auckland cricketers into the mid 1850s. Privately he enjoyed lucrative legal partnerships and numerous business speculations. Publicly he was one of New Zealand's leading nineteenth century politicians, although condemned by historians for his grasping attitude to Maori land. He was MPC 1854-55, Superintendent of Auckland 1865-67, MHR 1866-7, 1876-9, MLC 1853-64, 1879-81, Attorney General on seven occasions 1856-91 and Premier 1863-4, 1882-3.²⁴ Christopher Harris was also MPC 1857-61.

By the early 1850s the membership of the ACC (Table 2.2) had not altered dramatically, aside from the addition of two noted public figures in William Martin and Charles Heaphy. Martin (1807-80), educated at Cambridge (MA), was the first Chief Justice of New Zealand 1841-56. Responsible for drafting many of the earliest New Zealand ordinances, and for establishing important precedents in respect of the application of English law to the Maori, he also held a high profile in church affairs and in the administration of Maori education.²⁵ Heaphy (1820-81) initially made his reputation working for the New Zealand Company as a draughtsman, artist, surveyor and explorer. From 1848 he held various

passim.

22. *CNZ*, Vol.2, p.103.

23. *Ibid*, p.100.

24. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.586-7.

25. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.277-9.

TABLE: 2.2.
AUCKLAND CRICKET CLUB 1851-52

Traced: 8 of 17 players.²⁶

P. Berry	sheriff
C.A. Harris	clerk
C. Heaphy	draughtsman/surveyor
W. Martin	barrister & solicitor
F.W. Merriman	barrister & solicitor
J. Simms	grocer
F. Whitaker	barrister & solicitor
W. Young	eating house keeper

²⁶. Source: jury list, 1851-52, *New Zealand Government Gazette*.

surveying and goldfields commission posts in Auckland, eventually becoming chief provincial surveyor. Decorated with a Victoria Cross for bravery in the Anglo-Maori wars, he was MHR 1867-70 and later a judge of the Native Land Court.²⁷

Auckland's single cricket club was reconstituted on several occasions. It appeared as the Albion Cricket Club in 1846-47, 1848-49 and 1852-53 and as the Auckland Cricket Club in 1847-48 and 1851-52. Such a lack of continuity suggests apathy. There was apparently no play in the 1849-50 or 1850-51 seasons and the first game of 1852-53 was not played until the end of January.²⁸ Almost all of the matches played from 1845-55 were against garrison teams - drawn from the 58th and 65th regiments.²⁹ The few intra-club fixtures, the usual "Married" against "Single", always incorporated military players.³⁰

The matches played by the regiments stationed in Auckland were not without community support and elite patronage. Reports of the match between the ACC and the garrison in March 1848 were quick to point out the presence of leading members of the community, and an account of a similar match at the end of the year reveals festivities on a grand scale.

The day proved a delightful one. The ground was in beautiful order. The rival competitors in high spirits. And the friends of both parties in a state of anxious expectation. Add the presence of beauty and the charms of music, and we think we have enumerated ample materials for general

27. Ibid, pp.181-3.

28. *New Zealander*, 29 January 1853, p.3.

29. For example, Ibid, 11 March 1848, p.3; 9 December 1848, p.2; 27 January 1849, p.3; 21 January 1852, p.3.

30. For example, Ibid, 13 December 1851, p.3.

enjoyment.³¹

But, in the longer term, support for cricket in Auckland was limited. Once the leading players of the ACC retired during the early 1850s, there were none to replace them. Indeed there was possibly no organised cricket in Auckland from February 1853 until late 1857 when a series of matches were resumed between the garrison and civilians - the later not designated as a particular club.³² Part of the problem, as it was in Wellington, may have been the lack of a suitable ground. That most commonly used was the Albert barracks ground. However, one cricket historian suggests that the military were reluctant to allow its use by the public. Consequently, the only matches played on it were those incorporating military players.³³

By the end of 1859 there were again two clubs- Auckland and Parnell. Although Table 2.3 is far from complete, the limited information available suggests that these clubs were very similar in composition to their predecessors. Ten of the fifteen players listed are High White-Collar (categories 1 and 2), with only two obviously Blue-Collar players. To this must be added the usual ascription of more humble origins to the many who remain untraced.

The likely "openness" of these clubs is reinforced by the high level of cooperation between them. They were quite willing to share equipment and facilities, and the *New Zealander* noted, with some pleasure, that "Cricket is

³¹. *New Zealander.*, 9 December 1848, p.2.

³². *Ibid*, 3 January 1858, p.2; 30 January 1858, p.2.

³³. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.22-3.

TABLE: 2.3.
AUCKLAND CRICKETERS 1859-61

Traced: 15 of 36 players.³⁴

S. Alpe	grocer
Barbor	military
C. Beale	barrister & solicitor?
F.D. Fenton	judge
J. Hargreaves	farmer
B. Ireland	tanner/ironmonger
G. Ireland	tanner/ironmonger
G. Kissling	accountant/bank manager
T. Kissling	barrister & solicitor
Mandeno	builder/contractor
J. Russell	barrister & solicitor
J.B. Steedman	engineer
S.J. Stratford	doctor
G. Turton	barrister & solicitor
H. Turton	clergyman

³⁴. Sources: *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol.2, passim; jury list, 1858, *New Zealand Government Gazette*.

becoming a great fact in Auckland and Parnell; and the *entente cordiale* between the city and suburban clubs, and between both and the military, is highly gratifying to have to notice".³⁵ Most of the matches still involved one or other of the clubs against a garrison team,³⁶ but a number of intra-club fixtures were also staged in a busy 1859-60 season which culminated in an Auckland team journeying to Wellington for the first inter-provincial match.³⁷ The two Auckland clubs did not apparently play each other until January 1861.³⁸

The Parnell club had probably collapsed by the end of 1861, while Auckland functioned until at least the end of 1865. Sometime during 1862 the United Cricket Club was formed and remained the leading Auckland club well into the 1870s.³⁹ While the players are difficult to trace for the formative years, the prestigious club committee of 1865 (Table 2.4) still made room for artisans. Samuel Alpe, a grocer, played first-class cricket for Auckland, Wellington and Canterbury.⁴⁰ Hesketh, the Outhwaites' and Russell were all established legal practitioners in Auckland. But the most prominent member, and sometime President, was Francis Dart Fenton (c1820-98). Educated at Sheffield Collegiate School and admitted as a solicitor in London, he was a Resident Magistrate in the Auckland area during the 1850s, crown law officer for Auckland and Chief Judge of the Native Land Court

³⁵. *New Zealander*, 9 November 1859, p.3.

³⁶. *Ibid*, 23 November 1859, p.3; 3 December 1859, p.3; 10 December 1859, p.3; 28 February 1860, p.3.

³⁷. *Ibid*, 7 January 1860, p.3; 21 January 1860, p.5.

³⁸. *Ibid*, 2 January 1861, p.7.

³⁹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.22-3.

⁴⁰. F. Payne & I. Smith, eds, *The 1993 Shell Cricket Almanack of New Zealand*. Auckland, 1993, p.167.

TABLE: 2.4.
UNITED CRICKET CLUB COMMITTEE 1865

Traced: 8 of 12 members.

S. Alpe	grocer
F.D. Fenton	judge
E. Hesketh	barrister & solicitor
T. Masefield	foundry manager
J. Mumford	bootmaker
C. Outhwaite	barrister & solicitor?
W. Outhwaite	barrister & solicitor
J. Russell	barrister & solicitor

1865-82. After drafting the Auckland Public Domains' Act in 1860, he served a long period as a Domain trustee and did more than anyone to secure the area for cricket.⁴¹

Even with the Auckland and United clubs firmly established, cricket continued to struggle during the early 1860s. The departure of many of the regimental players on active service, especially to the Waikato during 1863, removed the traditional focal point.⁴² Having initiated the first inter-provincial match in March 1860, and received a return visit from Wellington at the end of 1862, Auckland had no contact with the other provinces until it toured south in 1873-74. During 1863-65 the clubs played little if any cricket. Instead there were occasional matches between the Auckland Militia and Rifle Volunteers, 40th Regiment and 65th Regiment, Garrison and Navy.⁴³ The military maintained their Albert barracks ground, but the Auckland Domain, which had apparently been secured as a cricket ground in the late 1850s, was allowed to revert to weeds.⁴⁴

With relative peace secured in the Auckland area, expansion followed. At the end of 1865 there were, for the first time, more intra-club and inter-club matches than those involving military teams. Efforts were made to establish a club exclusively for the legal profession, although this eventually came to nothing.⁴⁵ A West End Cricket Club, and

41. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.121-3.

42. *New Zealander*, 28 February 1860, p.2. This report predicted a decline in cricket when members of the 40th regiment left Auckland.

43. *New Zealand Herald*, 19 December 1863; 29 December 1863; 11 November 1864; 15 November 1864.

44. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.22-3.

45. *New Zealand Herald*, 28 October 1865, p.4.

East Auckland Cricket Club were started, and teams from Wesley College, the High School and Auckland Grammar School also played matches. Indeed the expansion of cricket into the schools was especially welcomed by the *New Zealand Herald*.

It is gratifying to observe the increasing vitality which it is acquiring amongst our community. Youngsters but just breached may now be seen on every plot of ground which affords scope enough for pitching a wicket, playing "the fine old game" in miniature style ... every school also has its club, and some may even boast of a "second" as well as a "first" eleven.⁴⁶

During 1867 teams from St John's College and St Stephen's Native School also took the field.⁴⁷

A letter to the *New Zealand Herald*, in November 1867, criticised the standard of Auckland cricket and suggested that the game was again languishing. There was, however, hope in that the appearance of several new clubs reduced the need to play meaningless "scratch" matches.⁴⁸ Teams such as the Dedwood CC, Blackstone CC, Mt Eden and Davenport played during 1867-8⁴⁹ as did another variously designated "Peripatetic XI", "Cures", "Albert CC" and "Butterflies".⁵⁰ While it was again necessary to reconstitute the Auckland CC in October 1868, it continued to play fairly regularly against visiting naval and garrison teams.⁵¹

The early 1870s witnessed rapid growth in Auckland cricket. By the time the provincial team embarked on its landmark tour through New Zealand at the end of 1873, there

⁴⁶. Ibid, 4 December 1865, p.5.

⁴⁷. Ibid, 30 October 1867, p.4; 11 November 1867, p.4.

⁴⁸. Ibid, 12 November 1867, p.5.

⁴⁹. Ibid, 4 March 1867, p.4; 4 February 1868, p.3.

⁵⁰. Ibid, 30 January 1869, p.4; 22 February 1869, p.5; 22 October 1869, p.4; 22 November 1869, p.5; 17 December 1869, p.3.

⁵¹. Ibid, 18 January 1868, p.3; 18 October 1868, p.3; 30 January 1869, p.4.

were at least twelve clubs in the district - Auckland, Brighton, Cotele, Grafton, North Shore, Onehunga, Otara, Parnell, Standard, United, Wanderers, and West End. United had been the leading club for a decade, but it was now challenged by a newly formed Auckland Cricket Club. This was perhaps the most deliberate attempt to form an influential, exclusive club so far in Auckland. The Patron was Sir James Ferguson, Governor of New Zealand, the President was Sir George Arney, chief justice of New Zealand 1858-75, and the Vice President was F.D. Fenton. In addition, the club boasted 80 members, a solid financial base and access to a good, if distant, ground on the Ellerslie racecourse.⁵² A grand opening on 15 November 1873 attracted in excess of 300 people and a band amid considerable festivity.⁵³ However, the club did not enjoy steady progress. In January 1877 it was disqualified from local competition for twice failing to provide a team for a cup match against United.⁵⁴ By the early 1880s it had revitalised as one of the stalwarts of Auckland club cricket.

Clearly Auckland cricket did not want for influential patronage. Throughout the three decades under review, its clubs, although open in their membership, were guided by leading citizens - and certainly more consistently than those in Wellington. Moreover the press was not slow to encourage progress and to eulogise the qualities of cricket. But the game was stifled by circumstances beyond its control. Although Auckland's strategic vulnerability did ensure a constant

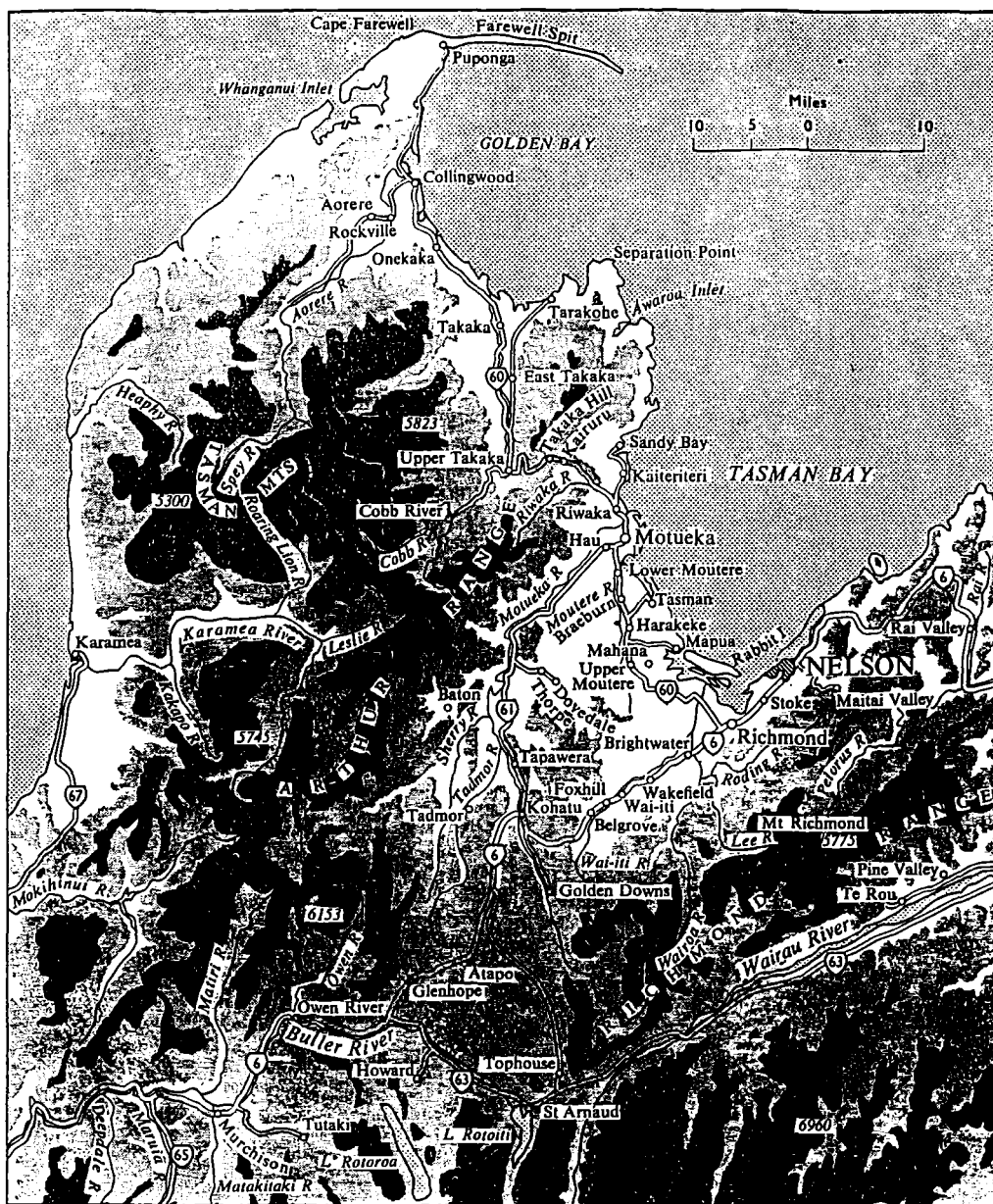
⁵². Ibid, 10 October 1873, p.3.

⁵³. Ibid, 17 November 1873, p.3.

⁵⁴. Ibid, 16 January 1877, p.2.

military presence, and therefore a cricket presence, the environment was apparently not ideal for the fostering of civilian clubs. After the powerful core of the early Auckland clubs had retired, and there was a lower military presence during the mid 1850s, a void existed which was not effectively filled until the emergence of United under the guidance of F.D. Fenton. Nor was Auckland, in the north, ideally placed for its game to benefit from the sort of interest created by inter-provincial contacts. Auckland played no inter-provincial cricket from 1862 until it embarked on its landmark tour of the country at the end of 1873.

MAP 3.1 NELSON REGION



Source: A.H. McIntock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

CHAPTER THREE

VILLAGE CRICKET TRANSPLANTED

CRICKET IN NELSON 1840-80

The fate of cricket in Nelson is symptomatic of the wider history of the province. Cricket was played as early as 1842 and by 1892 the provincial team had met Wellington on 22 occasions and played as many first-class matches as Auckland.¹ But optimistic beginnings were followed by an ultimate failure to keep pace with expansion in the larger provincial centres. While there was no shortage of cricket clubs in Nelson, there was no enduring sense of tradition or elite patronage and no single strong club which could command deference from others. Indeed, Nelson is the only province where country cricket was consistently stronger, in both playing and organisational terms, than that in urban areas.

As the second settlement of the New Zealand Company, Nelson made a strong contribution to New Zealand's social and political landscape during the 1840s and '50s. Its topography was more yielding than that in Wellington. Its climate was certainly superior and it was not without its share of economic successes - assisted in part by various gold discoveries in the province during the late 1850s and '60s. But in the longer term, although Nelson was prosperous enough in

¹. Seven of Nelson's matches against Wellington are not deemed first-class. In total Nelson played fifteen first-class matches against Wellington and two against Auckland between 1874 and 1892.

its own right, a shortage of land and capital hampered population increase and stifled large scale industrial expansion. Nelson's jubilee in 1892 marked a half-century of unfulfilled expectations and mixed economic fortunes. For Nelson cricketers, 1892 marked the end of their life as a first-class province.

The impediments to Nelson's growth were, in large part, determined at its conception when the New Zealand Company failed to secure preferred land at Port Cooper in Canterbury. Governor Hobson, uncertain of his mandate and desirous of maintaining Crown control, refused to allow settlement to develop so far south. The Company was thus obliged to accept the best available alternative.² The land - mountainous, heavily forested and of variable soil quality - was less than suitable for systematic settlement. The best agricultural land - flood plains and low terraces - comprised only nine per cent of the total area. Moreover, the need to clear fern roots, or to drain swamp areas, made land development a time-consuming task.³

Compounding these problems, the New Zealand Company failed to meet its immigration selection criteria. As a London-based commercial enterprise, the Company had little idea of how to attract the necessary quota of rural agricultural labourers. In the end, as W.J. Gardner points out,

the NZC's agents had to make nonsense of their Wakefieldian principles and fill their ships with what they could muster close to hand at the last moment. Penniless labourers recruited in the London slums formed the

². J. McAloon, "A History of Nelson", MS, forthcoming, Chapter 1, pp.4-5.

³. Ibid, pp.15,18.

great majority of steerage passengers to Nelson.⁴

There was also a distinct lack of capital among those who reached the settlement. Of 810 men over the age of 21 in Nelson at the end of 1842, fewer than 90 possessed any capital. The following year only 39 of 884 male immigrants were listed as having professional occupations.⁵ Nelson's capital was instead derived from the large proportion of absentee owners which the New Zealand Company allowed. While this assisted the Company emigration and public amenities funds, it did nothing for the immediate economic prospects of the settlement. With fewer owners present, consumption and wage employment were both much less than anticipated. There was an over-supply of labour by November 1842, prompting a number of artisans to leave for Tasmania by July 1843. By the following year there were still only 68 landowners in Nelson.⁶

The lack of a numerically strong elite does much to explain the subsequent struggle of Nelson cricket. There were simply not enough "gentlemen" of the sort who had provided the social and financial core of various Auckland and Wellington cricket clubs. In as much as there was a devoted sporting elite, it was directed largely towards the Jockey Club rather than the cricket club. Nelson held its first race meeting on 1 February 1843 and the annual race meeting and Race Ball were a feature thereafter. By the 1850s Nelson had established itself as a centre of New Zealand horse breeding.⁷

4. W.J. Gardner, "The Founding of Nelson and Canterbury: A Comparative Study", *Historical News*, No.48, May 1984, p.2.

5. McAloon, op. cit., p.9.

6. Ibid, pp.25-6,30.

7. R. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, Wellington, 1965, p.182; E.

The numerous cricket clubs that existed in the town of Nelson and its surrounding villages from 1842 to 1870 were dominated by artisans and farmers. The one incarnation of the Nelson Cricket Club that did show signs of social exclusiveness during the early 1860s was neither enduring nor particularly rigorous in its insularity.

The beginning of cricket in Nelson offered little indication of the struggle that was to follow. In comparative terms the Nelson cricket fraternity acted even more rapidly to organise an inaugural game than their colleagues in Wellington or Auckland. On New Years Day 1842, a month before the arrival of the first settlers, the New Zealand Company survey cadets played a game using gear that they had brought from England.⁸ On 26 November 1842 the *Nelson Examiner* called "existing" members of the Nelson Cricket Club to a meeting, and advertised a "field day" for 10 December.⁹ That Nelson's first anniversary sports were held on land designated as the "Cricket ground" suggests a degree of permanence.¹⁰ But only the secretary, J.H. Cooper, and the treasurer, George Richardson, can be traced. Cooper was the surgeon on the *Martha Ridgway* and later became a runholder in the Wairau Valley.¹¹ Richardson, well educated and public spirited, was the first editor of the *Nelson Examiner*, a member of the

Bohan, *Edward Stafford: New Zealand's First Statesman*, Christchurch, 1994, pp.61-2, 75-6.

⁸. L. Broad, *Jubilee History of Nelson*, Nelson, 1892, p.14.

⁹. *Nelson Examiner*, 26 November 1842, p.1. There are different pagination systems for particular holdings of this newspaper - some consecutive, some by individual issue.

¹⁰. Allan, op. cit., pp.181-2.

¹¹. M.D. Lash, *Nelson Notables 1840-1940*, Nelson, 1992, p.42.

Nelson Benefit Society and of the street naming committee. He was killed at Wairau in June 1843.¹²

The *Examiner* did not report any matches during 1843, and it seems that the Club lapsed for a time - almost inevitably in the aftermath of the Wairau affray when 22 colonists, including the leader, Arthur Wakefield, were killed in a dispute with Maori over land surveying and purchase.

But the revival of cricket in March 1844 was enthusiastically welcomed by the *Examiner*.

We hail with pleasure the revival of the truly English game of cricket. In the early part of the season the sport languished sadly, but new life has lately been imparted to it, and the spirit which animated the club at its formation appears likely to be sustained for the future.

A match was played between the New Zealand Company surveyors and "All Nelson" for a dinner given by Mr Harley of the "Carpenters Arms". Nelson scored 72 and 48 against 20 and 58 by the surveyors. On the following day various single wicket matches were staged.¹³ Enthusiasm was such that a challenge was also sent to the cricketers of Wellington suggesting that a match should be played in each settlement - Wellington to have the choice of which ground was used first. There was no reply and the two teams did not finally meet until December 1862.¹⁴

Although most of its members are difficult to trace in any detail, this Nelson team (Table 3.1) appears reasonably "open" in its composition. George Duppa (1819-88) was a wealthy runholder and one of the first to import sheep to Nelson on a large scale. He later established major interests in

¹². Allan, op. cit., pp.161-5,180.

¹³. *Nelson Examiner*, 9 March 1844, p.2.

¹⁴. *Nelson Examiner*, 16 March 1844, p.6.

TABLE 3:1
"ALL NELSON" 1844

Traced: 10 of 11 players.¹⁵

George Duppa	runholder
Charles Empson	merchant
James Marshall	labourer
Richard Mills	publican/ constable, gaoler
William Rogers	gentleman
George Schroeder	merchant
W.? Shepherd	carpenter?
E.D. Sweet	bank staff
George Tytler	runholder
James Tytler	runholder

¹⁵. Source: Jury list, *Nelson Examiner*, 17 February 1844.

racing and bloodstock before leaving New Zealand in 1863.¹⁶ The Tytler brothers, of a prosperous Edinburgh family, were cousins of Edward Stafford the first Nelson Superintendent and long serving New Zealand Premier. At the centre of Nelson's social circle, they established a successful sheep run before returning to Scotland in 1844 and 1845 respectively.¹⁷

No other member of this team appears to have taken a particularly active role in community affairs. More to the point, few members of Nelson's, admittedly small, group of public figures appear to have taken an active interest in cricket.

Indeed, Nelson during the mid 1840s was a settlement preoccupied with economic constriction, the struggle for land and the failure of the New Zealand Company to create the social balance so crucial to Wakefieldian idealism. Consequently the enthusiasm shown by "All Nelson" in March 1844 was not sustained. There was no more cricket reported until 31 January 1846 when it was noted that players wishing to appear in a forthcoming match were to be on the ground by 11am. The implication is that no formal club now existed.¹⁸ In late March a team from Nelson defeated one designated "Motueka and Moutere", but lost the return fixture two weeks later when a number of "regular players" were unable to participate.¹⁹ If "regular" players suggests regular cricket, their activities were short-lived. The next match reported was on 29 April 1848 when "Hampshire" defeated "Settlement",²⁰

16. Lash, op. cit., p.52.

17. Bohan, op. cit., pp.25,35,44.

18. *Nelson Examiner*, 31 January 1846, p.3.

19. Ibid, 28 March 1846, p.2; 11 April 1846, p.3.

20. Ibid, 29 April 1848, p.35.

and not again until 16 March 1850. Once more the *Examiner* expressed hope that cricket might at last gain a secure hold.

Cricket - we are glad to find this excellent and truly English sport has been revived among us, with a spirit which, we hope, gives a good promise of a permanency of interest.²¹

During March 1850 there was a flurry of activity. In Nelson, "Hampshire Men" played "All England" and a "Married XI" played a "Single XXII".

Of more lasting significance were the efforts of country cricketers. After two matches between Wakefield and Spring Grove at the end of March 1850, it was hoped that regular matches might be arranged between "Town" and "Country". But after the first of these, which resulted in a victory for "Country" in October 1850, the town team again faded and the mantle of Nelson cricket shifted almost entirely to country teams for the remainder of the 1850s. When a Nelson team was assembled to play Wakefield in April 1854, it was reported that the Nelson men had not played for at least two years.²²

The rise of country cricket in Nelson went hand in hand with the developing pattern of the provincial economy. Except in the Wairau and Awatere districts, the short supply and variable quality of land precluded the dispersed population commonly associated with large scale pastoralism.²³ Instead, Nelson developed a core of small agricultural farms, the average size being eighty acres, on the best suburban land around the town of Nelson, on the Waimea Plains and at Moutere. All of the outlying townships, such as Richmond,

²¹. Ibid, 16 March 1850, p.2.

²². Ibid, 30 March 1850, p.2; 6 April 1850, p.2; 19 October 1850, p.2; 8 April 1854, p.52.

²³. McAloon, Chapter 2, pp.16,28.

Spring Grove and Wakefield, emerged as small service centres in agricultural areas where the population was in relatively close proximity.²⁴

Most of these townships had at least one inn and a store. Flourmills and sawmills were working at Spring Grove and at Wakefield. Richmond boasted a Literary Institute and two schools, and there was a library at Hope. In short, there seems to have been a keen awareness of the role of the small townships as focal points for the surrounding community.²⁵ Although the social hierarchy was missing, Nelson at least subscribed to Wakefield's ideal of close agricultural settlement. Moreover, this pattern changed little during the next two decades. While the population of the province doubled in the period 1853-74, the city of Nelson never held more than forty per cent of the total population. The small-holding districts remained an attractive proposition.²⁶

All of the country cricket clubs formed during the 1850s and '60s were specific to a single township or locality. The most prominent of these were Wakefield and Spring Grove. They staged the usual "Married" against "Single" intra-club matches at Waimea South,²⁷ and met each other annually from 1850 to 1854.²⁸ The meetings ended with an acrimonious game in December 1854 when Spring Grove complained bitterly against the umpiring of H. Boddington, secretary of the Wakefield CC, with the result that Wakefield refused to accept

²⁴. Ibid, pp.1-2.

²⁵. Ibid.

²⁶. Ibid, Chapter 3, pp.10-12.

²⁷. *Nelson Examiner*, 26 April 1851, p.3; 20 March 1852, p.2; 17 April 1852, p.2.

²⁸. Ibid, 22 February 1851, p.2; 18 December 1852, p.2; 28 January 1854, p.5.

TABLE 3.2
WAKEFIELD/ SPRING GROVE CRICKET CLUBS 1854-55²⁹

<u>Wakefield</u>		<u>Spring Grove</u>	
Baigent,A.	labourer	Andrews, W.	farmer
Baigent,E.	millar	Coleman,T.	sawyer
Boddington,H.	labourer	Coleman,W.	sawyer
Clarke,D.	sawyer	Dixon,B.	storek'per
Fairhall,W.	farmer	Gentry,W.	-
Nixon,J.	gentleman	Hammond,R.	Shepherd
Norris,J.	farmer	Martin,H.	farmer
Norris,R.	-	Neale,W.	bricklayer
Price,J.	labourer	Palmer,J.	publican
Robson,W.	gardener	Palmer,W.	-
Smith,R.M.	-	Phipps,R.	sawyer
Tunncliffe,H.	labourer	Rush,F.	sawyer
Tunncliffe,T.	labourer	Rutherford,A.	-
		Seymour,R.	labourer

²⁹. Sources, Jury lists, 18. February 1854, 24 February 1855, 16 February 1856, 14. February 1857.

another Spring Grove challenge.³⁰

Both clubs (Table 3.2) were entirely "open" in composition - a necessity given the nature and small population of their catchment area. The Wakefield team, which remained the most powerful in the province until at least 1880, was drawn from a very narrow family base. Typical was the team of January 1863 which included four Baigent brothers, two Norris brothers, two Price brothers and two Tunnicliffe brothers. The Baigents' were part of a successful timber business established by their father during the 1840s. Edward Baigent (1813-92) was MPC for Waimea South 1853-76, and MHR 1867-9, 1876-9. He was a founder member of the Waimea South Institute and had a lengthy involvement in Anglican Church Affairs.³¹ While his sons derived prosperity from family property and business, the Wakefield CC can never be considered an elite club. As with most country cricket teams, it was more likely concerned with obtaining rather than excluding members.

The Motueka CC provides some indication of a more formal establishment. After two matches against Riwaka in January 1855,³² the club was reorganised in late 1857 with a detailed set of rules which stressed a dress code and prohibited smoking on the field. By 1859 it had 43 playing members and 23 honorary members. Unfortunately there is no surviving evidence to determine the social origins of any of them - with the notable exception of John Danforth Greenwood (1802-90). Through his energies the Motueka CC apparently

30. *Nelson Examiner*, 23 December 1854, p.2.

31. Nelson Notables File, Nelson Provincial Museum.

32. *Nelson Examiner*, 13 January 1855, p.2; 17 January 1855, p.2.

negotiated a 21 year lease with local Maori for the use of six acres for a cricket ground.³³ Originally trained as a doctor, Greenwood only practiced sporadically in New Zealand. A JP from 1844, one of the first Governors of Nelson College, and its Headmaster 1862-4, he later became the first school inspector for Nelson Province and Sergeant of Arms for the House of Representatives 1866-77.³⁴

While cricket flourished in outlying areas, there was none to be found in the city of Nelson (as it was designated in 1856) from 1854 until 1858. But the revival of the game was marked by the appearance of not one club, but two - the Nelson Cricket Club and the Nelson Mechanics Cricket Club. There was a large attendance for their first encounter in early January 1859 and for the return match a month later.³⁵ Nelson CC also arranged several matches against Motueka, and the Mechanics CC played Richmond.³⁶ Once again the *Nelson Examiner* responded in encouraging fashion.

Cricket is a fine manly game, and a thoroughly national one, and we are glad to see it getting so firm a footing in our settlement. We trust that the day will come when Canterbury or Wellington may throw down the gauntlet and try conclusions with us also.³⁷

This wish was satisfied regularly enough by Wellington, but Canterbury did not visit until 1889. Moreover, the two clubs probably survived no more than two seasons. There was no cricket reported in Nelson city from April 1860 to December

³³. C.C. Wilkinson to Motueka CC, 9 September 1956, E. Neale papers, Nelson Provincial Museum.

³⁴. Nelson Notables File.

³⁵. *Nelson Examiner*, 5 January 1859, p.2; 29 January 1859, p.2.

³⁶. Ibid, 12 February 1859, p.2; 29 February 1860, p.2.

³⁷. Ibid, 12 February 1859 p.2.

TABLE 3:3
NELSON CRICKET CLUB 1859-60

Traced: 15 of 19 players.³⁸

H. Adams	solicitor
G. Avery	labourer
J. Avery	shoemaker
C. Baulme	engineer
H. Bonnington	farmer
M. Bury	engineer
G. Christie	farmer
C. Gentry	innkeeper
A. Greenfield	solicitor
T. Hacket	mining engineer
J. Hebbard.	carpenter
W. Jackson.	carpenter
A. Kerr.	bank manager
C. Maling	surveyor
G. Schroder	farmer

³⁸. Sources: Jury lists, *Nelson Examiner*, 18 February 1860, 16 February 1861.

TABLE 3:4
NELSON MECHANICS CRICKET CLUB 1859-60

Traced: 13 of 19 players.³⁹

E. Atmore	gardener
G. Batchelor	shoemaker
T. Batchelor	shoemaker
R. Burn	tinsmith
G. Chittenden	carpenter
W. Good	carpenter
C. Harris	baker
J. Hooper	brewer
C. Nation	painter
J. Pratt	butcher
W. Stallard	labourer/flax dresser
E. Trent	shopman
W. Waters	shoemaker

³⁹. Sources: Jury lists, *Nelson Examiner*, 18 February 1860, 16 February 1861.

1862 although games were undoubtedly played. Yet the composition of the two clubs, and their interaction highlights important features of Nelson cricket.

Clearly there were social distinctions between the two Nelson clubs (Table 3.3, 3.4). But these were minor in comparison with other provinces, and they were seemingly not enforced. At least one of the matches against Motueka in 1859 and a challenge from Wakefield in 1860 featured players from both Nelson clubs.⁴⁰ More revealing are the Nelson teams selected for two matches against Wellington in December 1862. The first included seven players who can be traced to the Mechanics CC and only two from Nelson. The second included four from the Mechanics CC and five from Wakefield. The Nelson captain was Harris, a baker from the Mechanics CC.⁴¹ Of the 24 players associated with the single Nelson club during 1863, there were ten former Mechanics CC players and only two from Nelson.⁴²

The larger population of Nelson city, and the larger pool of potential players, made it possible for the Nelson and Mechanics clubs to set certain criteria for membership. But the more common pattern was in the strong country teams from areas where population did not allow the luxury of choice in club membership. Nor does Nelson cricket contain the preponderance of leading public figures who characterised the hierarchy of the earlier Auckland Cricket Club or the United Wellington Cricket Club. Aside from Edward Baigent of the

⁴⁰. Ibid, 16 March 1860, p.2.

⁴¹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.144, 146.

⁴². Compiled from *Nelson Examiner*, 7 January 1863, p.2; 10 January 1863, p.2.

Wakefield CC, only three other cricketers can be found among Nelson Provincial Councillors. Henry Adams was MPC 1853-73 and a regular member of the Provincial Executive. Maxwell Bury (1825-1912) was a marine engineer, architect and land agent. He was chairman of the first Nelson Board of Works, Provincial Engineer, and Sheriff of Nelson 1861-3.⁴³ Alfred Greenfield was secretary to Edward Stafford as Provincial Superintendent, sometime Provincial Secretary, Provincial Auditor and Provincial Treasurer, Commissioner of Crown Lands and stipendiary magistrate. H.A. Tarrant, a surveyor who played for Motueka during the early 1860s, was MPC 1869-76.⁴⁴

Country teams continued to provide the bulk of Nelson cricket during the 1860s. Wakefield played regular matches with Nelson city,⁴⁵ and teams from Appleby, Brooklyn, Hope, Riwaka, Motueka and Waimea East were active by January 1863.⁴⁶ Richmond and Wakapuaka had teams by January 1867.⁴⁷ A team also took the field at the gold mining town of Collingwood as early as 1860, and it continued to play regular matches against nearby Takaka throughout the decade.⁴⁸ During March 1863 a combined team from Motueka, Nelson and Riwaka defeated a Marlborough XI (Picton and Wairau Valley) at Nelson. The return match was played at Picton in February 1864 as the

⁴³. DNZB, Vol.2, pp.68-9.

⁴⁴. Biographical Files, Nelson Provincial Museum.

⁴⁵. *Nelson Examiner*, 3 January 1863, p.3; 18 February 1865, p.3; 12 January 1867, p.3; 26 March 1868, p.2.

⁴⁶. Ibid, 7 January 1863, p.2; 25 January 1863, p.3; 6 December 1864, p.2.

⁴⁷. Ibid, 5 March 1867, p.3; 2 April 1867, p.3.

⁴⁸. Ibid, 14 April 1860, p.3; 28 April 1868, p.2; 6 November 1869, p.3.

Nelson team travelled to return a visit made by Wellington in December 1862.⁴⁹

Nelson's position as a transit point to the Marlborough and West Coast goldfields during the mid 1860s did much to assist the fortunes of cricket in Nelson city. "Diggers" defeated "Publicans" of Nelson in December 1864, and there were enough visitors for the Nelson CC to play "Outsiders" a week later.⁵⁰ The steady increase in population and commerce which accompanied the peak gold rush period of 1866-67, manifested itself in new clubs and a wide variety of "scratch" teams. "Nelson City Butchers", "Cabmen", "Draymen", "Bankers", "Butchers and Blacksmiths" all played during 1867-69.⁵¹ They were joined towards the end of the decade by a "Band of Hope" club and an "Albert CC", both apparently junior teams, and a Nelson College team which began to play regularly against club and school teams.⁵²

Finally after almost three decades there was a degree of continuity in Nelson city cricket. From a simple hope that the game might be established, the *Examiner* could now turn its attention to standards and etiquette. After a particularly competitive game between Wakefield and Nelson in January 1867, the paper enthused that "practice is all that is wanted now to make either of these clubs leading clubs in the colony". Two months later Nelson was praised for its keenness in challenging both Wakefield and Wellington, but reminded that more practice was essential in the interests of the best

⁴⁹. Ibid, 7 March 1863, p.2; 4 February 1864, p.2; 16 February 1864, p.2.

⁵⁰. Ibid, 8 December 1864, p.2; 15 December 1864, p.2.

⁵¹. Ibid, 12 January 1867, p.3; 1 February 1868, p.3; 27 March 1869, p.3.

⁵². Ibid, 8 February 1868, p.3; 29 February 1868, p.3; 31 March 1868, p.3; 24 March 1869, p.3.

possible team representing the province.⁵³ Two years later when Nelson again lost to Wakefield, the *Examiner* launched a scathing attack.

The folly of accepting a match without qualifying themselves with practice to make a good fight, even if unable to win, was never more forcibly shown, and it would be far better to refuse a challenge than to accept it and take no measure to give a chance of success.⁵⁴

Such attacks leave no doubt that a good standard of cricket, rather than cricket *per se*, was now the central issue.

The basic pattern of Nelson cricket altered little after 1870. Wakefield maintained its domination, contributing the bulk of players to Nelson provincial teams and remaining undefeated against such opponents as Motueka, Nelson, Richmond and Spring Grove.⁵⁵ Leading players included the Sellon brothers, at least one of whom had been at Oxford.⁵⁶ But with a team frequently dominated by three Fowler brothers, three Knapps' and two Edens', Wakefield continued to resemble more of a close knit community team than a club in the conventional sense.

Nelson city did not capitalise on the progress of the late 1860s. The main local club is variously referred to as City, Union, Nelson, and Normanby (presumably in honour of the Governor, the Marquess of Normanby) during the 1870s.⁵⁷ Other than matches, its proceedings were given little attention by

⁵³. Ibid, 17 January 1867, p.3; 9 March 1867, p.3.

⁵⁴. Ibid, 27 January 1869, p.3.

⁵⁵. *The Colonist*, 28 January 1873, p.2; 21 February 1873, p.3; 21 March 1873, p.3; 11 January 1876, p.3; 4 April 1876, p.3; 7 January 1879, p.3; 1 April 1879, p.3.

⁵⁶. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.32.

⁵⁷. *The Colonist*, 21 March 1873, p.3; 11 January 1876, p.3; 14 March 1876, p.3; 25 March 1879, p.3.

the local press. There is also no mention of cricket in connection with Nelson's anniversary celebrations during this period. But a festival match between the Nelson CC and a "Costume team" was well attended in March 1876, and the provincial team which defeated Marlborough during the following week was welcomed home with a procession and accompanying band.⁵⁸ During the 1880s, economic stability, reasonably wide-shared prosperity and easier communications did much to encourage recreational activities. So too did Trafalgar Park - opened on reclaimed land in 1888 under the auspices of the Nelson Cricket and Athletic Sports Ground Company. Although the Company soon experienced dire financial problems and was taken over by a bank, the Park developed as the centre for Nelson cricket.⁵⁹

The Nelson provincial team was good enough to defeat Wellington on ten occasions between 1870 and 1890, and their XXII achieved a respectable draw against Australia in 1881. But for no discernible reason, contact with Wellington ceased after December 1890. Subsequently, Nelson played very few matches, and none of those after the 1891-92 season are regarded as first class.⁶⁰

As with the province generally, Nelson cricket went into relative decline against the growth of the four main centres. Aside from the impediments to expansion imposed by its shortage of quality land, Nelson was not treated kindly by the

58. Ibid, 18 March 1876, p.3; 25 March 1876, p.3.

59. McAloon, op. cit., chapter 4, p.20.

60. F. Payne & I. Smith, eds, *The 1994 Shell Cricket Almanack of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1994, p.229.

manoeuvrings and interprovincial jealousies characteristic of Julius Vogel's expansionist public works and immigration policies during the 1870s. Vogel took revenge for opposition by certain Nelson politicians to his policies and effectively denied them access to significant public works loans from central government. Above all, this scuttled Nelson plans for a railway to the West Coast which would have freed up important land and mineral resources in the Buller.⁶¹ Nelson enjoyed steady growth and stability during the 1880s, and, in many respects, its relative lack of industrialisation and urbanisation saved it from the social problems and class tensions which were increasingly evident in the four main centres.⁶² But Nelson had ceased to be a significant player on New Zealand's social and political stage.

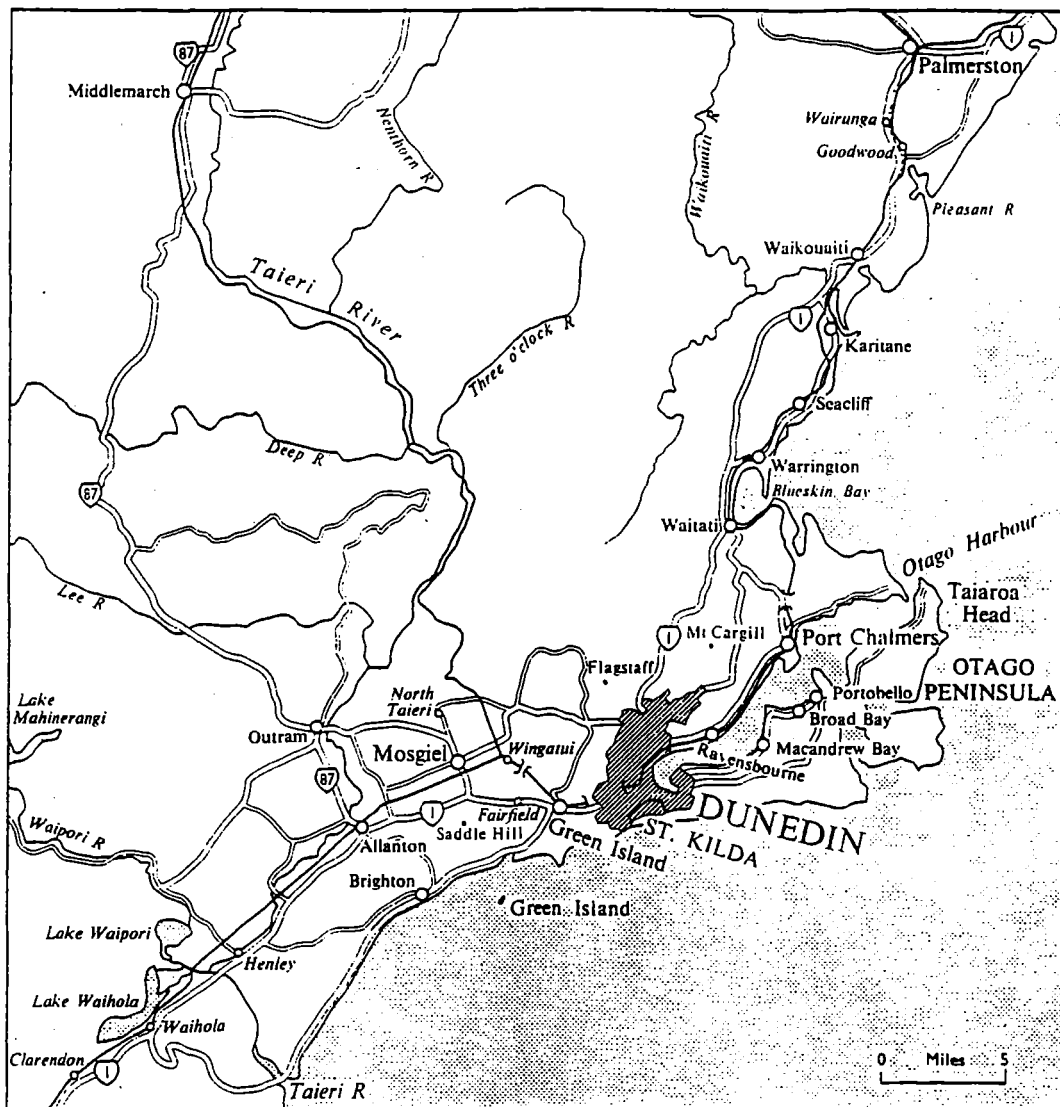
There are several ways in which this decline constricted Nelson cricket. By virtue of its smaller population, Nelson obviously had a smaller base from which to assemble competitive provincial teams. Similarly, it had fewer potential supporters from whom it could draw subscriptions and gate money - the essential revenue for developing grounds and embarking on tours. But the greatest problem may ultimately have been the plethora of semi-rural teams scattered over an agricultural landscape. Without a strong central club around which a large membership, money and patronage could be accumulated more easily, Nelson was not well placed to develop facilities and mount tours to compete with the major provinces. The Wakefield club, with its

⁶¹. McAloon, *op. cit.*, chapter 4, p.1.

⁶². *Ibid*, p.20; Neale papers, Nelson Provincial Museum.

enduring family traditions, was a strong playing combination, but its rural location was hardly conducive to a lasting influence on the structure of Nelson cricket. But Nelson's long cricketing heritage ensured that it was a more active minor association than most, and in due course it came to dominate the second tier of New Zealand representative cricket and provide a valuable training ground for numerous provincial players.

MAP 4.1 DUNEDIN AND ENVIRONS



CHAPTER FOUR

A SASSENACH ABERRATION

CRICKET IN OTAGO 1848-70

More distinctly than in Wellington, Auckland or Nelson the fortunes of Otago cricket can be traced along the contours of provincial history. An initial burst of enthusiasm accompanying first settlement was followed by a decade of almost total inactivity as Dunedin languished during the 1850s, with a dramatic revival following the Otago gold discoveries of the early 1860s. Gold brought both much needed capital to Otago cricket and an influx of quality players. Up to 1870 Otago won five of their first seven inter-provincial matches against Canterbury, with one drawn. With the retirement of their core of leading players, they lost ten of the next eleven - five by an innings.¹ Yet gold was only one factor in shaping this history. Dunedin during the 1850s was marked by an element of sectarianism not seen elsewhere in New Zealand. Cricket was among the many stages upon which various tensions between English and Scots were expressed.

The beginning of Otago cricket was swift - if not highly presumptuous. On 13 December 1848 - three weeks before any match was played in Dunedin - an intriguing notice appeared in the *Otago News*.

¹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, passim.

Challenge - the cricket players of Dunedin hereby publicly challenge the Cricket Club at Wellington to a trial of skill, at any point equidistant between the port of Otago and Port Nicholson: due notice of the acceptance of the challenge to appear in the "Wellington Independent", or by letter, addressed to Mr Watson, the Commercial Inn, Dunedin, Otago - High Street, Dunedin, Dec. 9, 1848.²

Although the challenge produced no response, this did not hinder enthusiasm for the game in the south. An *Otago News* leading article on 27 December 1848 listed a cricket club among the active institutions of the growing Dunedin settlement, and it played its first match, "Married" against "Single", on 1 January 1849 - on the site of the Octagon.³ Another match was almost certainly played on Dunedin's anniversary day in late March, and an advertisement for the sale of cricket gear in mid-April 1849 suggests that the game was not entirely primitive.⁴

But aside from an advertisement for a Dunedin Cricket Club practice on 22 December 1849,⁵ the game faded quickly - or the press stopped giving it coverage. Whichever is the case, the basic reason is the same. Dunedin was in essence a Scottish Presbyterian Free Church settlement. This is not to suggest that the Scots did not play cricket, but that these were the wrong sort of Scots. There was a strong cricketing tradition among the middle class and educated of Edinburgh, and in the South of Scotland generally. But those who joined this particular incarnation of the Wakefield colonising zeal were predominantly working class, small farmers and

². *Otago News*, 13 December 1848, p.1.

³. Ibid, 27 December, 1848, p.2; G. Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw, Manning, Wills and the 'Little Enemy'", notes on some early arrivals in Otago, No.4, Dunedin, 1971, p.11.

⁴. *Otago News*, 21 March 1849, p.2; 16 April 1849, p.1.

⁵. Ibid, 22 December 1849, p.1.

villagers from remote parts of Scotland which had not been penetrated by Sassenach diversions.⁶

In common with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Thomas Burns and William Cargill in Scotland, harboured a profound sense of regret at the passing of pre-industrial, agrarian society and at ominous democratic rumblings moving across Europe. At the same time they were dealing with a major schism in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In 1843 one third of Church membership broke with the establishment in a reaction against what they saw as excessive moderation, permissiveness and interference in church affairs from both the state and landowning gentry. The new Free Church adopted a much stronger evangelical position emphasising predestination and a strong godly enthusiasm in conjunction with self help and self discipline.⁷

Plans for a theocratic community in the new world faltered until the Otago Block was transferred to the New Zealand Company in 1847 and the scheme came more directly under Wakefield's influence. But rather than a carefully planned society governed by strong Evangelical principles and the mechanism of the "sufficient price", the response to the Free Church scheme produced a preponderance of artisans and an elite consisting of farmers' sons, self-employed shopkeepers and tradesmen. Without capital, these Scots acquired only 85 of the first land selections, while the few wealthier English in the settlement were able to acquire 95. Indeed the presence of an English faction, or "Little Enemy" as

6. Griffiths, *op. cit.* p.13.

7. E. Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin, 1984, pp.31-5.

they became known, posed no small threat to Scottish idealism. That many of the English were Crown officials did not sit easily with democratic Free Church objections to unwieldy and "despotic" Crown Colony government. Moreover, there was an inevitable unease at any sign of a Church of England influence permeating Dunedin. To the intense relief of Cargill in particular, some 12,000 immigrants, mostly Scottish Presbyterians, reached Otago by the late 1850s to ease fears of English social domination. And, in due course, inter-marriage eroded what were essentially trivial squabbles and national-religious divisions between the English and Scottish elites.⁸

Yet it is important to keep the "Little Enemy" firmly in mind when considering the first forays of Otago cricketers. Although the rate of success in tracing participants in the first Dunedin Cricket Club matches (Table 4.1) is not high, it does reveal few, if any, Scots. A number of players have links with Charles Kettle's Otago survey in the two years before formal settlement, while even among the colonists the cricketers are drawn from the *John Wickliffe* which sailed from Gravesend, London, rather than the *Philip Laing* which sailed from Glasgow.⁹ On the basis of occupation, the Club had few influential members. Only three of twenty were drawn from the High White-Collar category, while thirteen come from the Low White-Collar/Blue-Collar categories 4, 5 and 6.

Most prominent in this group are members of Kettle's survey party. Charles Henry Kettle (1821-62) undertook

⁸. Ibid, pp.38-44. See also D.M.J Richmond "Dunedin in the 1860s: some aspects of settlement", MA Thesis, University of Otago, 1972, pp. 7-15.

⁹. Griffiths, op. cit. pp.13-15.

TABLE: 4.1.
DUNEDIN CRICKET CLUB
PLAYERS 1848-50

Traced: 20 of 31 players.¹⁰

Joseph Allan	surveyor/farmer
Benjamin Bailey	farmer
John Carnegie	storekeeper/ agent
Peter Crew	butcher/storekeeper
James Cullen	surveyor/contractor
Richard Fry	carpenter
Henry Jeffreys	gentleman
Charles Kettle	surveyor
Henry Manning	doctor
Edward Martin	surveyor/farmer
John Mayo	storekeeper/plasterer
John Monson	builder
William Monson	builder
David/Peter? Napier	engineer
William Pollock	butcher/farmer
Peter Proudfoot	shoemaker
Samuel Shaw	painter
G? Smith	publican?
Thomas Watson	publican
Charles Webb	Clerk

¹⁰. Sources: Electoral Roll, *Otago Witness*, 10 September 1852; Jury list, *Otago Witness*, February 1852; Griffiths, op. cit., passim.

extensive surveying work in Wellington, Wairarapa and Manawatu (1840-3) before emerging as a leading advocate of an Otago settlement upon his return to Britain (1843-5). Placed in charge of the Otago survey and land division by the New Zealand Company (1846) and later by the Crown (1852), Kettle had numerous clashes with Cargill before resigning in 1854 to take up land at Kaihiku. Returning to public life, he was MHR for Bruce 1861-2 and Otago Provincial Auditor, 1862.¹¹ Allan, Cullen and Martin were all members of Kettle's survey party and all became farmers and small landholders in Otago during the 1850s.¹² Peter Crew, also a member of the survey party, worked variously as a butcher and storekeeper in Dunedin and as a carter, fencing contractor and miner in Western Southland.¹³

Of the others listed here, Henry Manning was the surgeon aboard the *John Wickliffe* and continued to follow that profession for many years in Dunedin and South Otago. Regarded as the leading sportsman in the province during the 1850s, he was regularly involved with the arrangement of anniversary sports days, imported the first race horses into Otago and organised the first race meetings.¹⁴ The Monson brothers were sons of Henry Monson the first Otago gaoler 1851-61. Thomas Watson, who drowned shortly after the first cricket match, was the publican of the Commercial Hotel and organiser of the first rural sports.¹⁵ The Napier brothers were

11. *DNZB*, Vol.1, p.226-7.

12. Scholefield, op. cit. Vol.1, pp.10, 59; Vol.2, p.59; *CNZ*, Vol.3, passim.

13. Griffiths, op. cit, pp.20-22.

14. S.A.G.M. Crawford, "A History of Recreation and Sport in Nineteenth Century Colonial Otago", PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1984, p.45.

15. Griffiths, op. cit, p.16; *DNZB*: Vol. 1, pp.273-4, 293.

prominent landowners, holding 34 sections by 1857.¹⁶ Perhaps the most notable figure among this group is Samuel Shaw (1819- ?). A painter by trade, who also worked as a plumber, glazier and house decorator after his arrival in Dunedin in 1848, Shaw's advocacy of an eight-hour working day, instead of ten, created enemies. Cargill labelled him a "cockney spouter". Shaw, as much as anyone, came to epitomise the position of the "Little Enemy" in Scottish Otago.¹⁷

If the "Little Enemy" has been over-inflated in some quarters, it is still reasonable to see its association with sport as an element in the fabric of community tensions. Certainly Thomas Watson's organisation of social activities, anniversary sports days and race meetings did not impress Cargill and Burns who feared for their determinedly civilised and hard working ideals. As the first anniversary approached, Burns left the settlement in no doubt as to how he felt it ought to be celebrated.

I would not press you with so much as one argument for keeping this anniversary as a day for religious duties - for I feel that I would, in so doing, be offering an insult to your religious feelings and convictions of duty.¹⁸

In subsequent years Burns did not apparently see the need to comment on anniversary days. Recreation, and cricket especially, receded into the background as settlers turned their attention to more practical matters of survival. With a smaller English population base than any other New Zealand settlement, no regular ground and no military presence to give

¹⁶. K.C. McDonald, *City of Dunedin: A Century of Civic Enterprise*, Dunedin, 1965, p.34.

¹⁷. DNZB, Vol.1, p.393.

¹⁸. *Otago News*, 21 March 1849, p.2.

impetus, immediate prospects for Otago cricket were bleak.

There was not a cricket club in Dunedin at any time during the 1850s. Scratch matches were played on New Years Day 1850 and 1855 and another on anniversary day 1856, while Green Island played East Taieri in 1858. Reports that a club was to be formed after the 1855 game came to nothing.¹⁹ Other matches were undoubtedly played, but went unreported. Indeed, George Griffiths suggests that the Scottish dominated press, as much as a genuine lack of cricketers, also had a part to play in the decline of the 1850s. In the first instance, the *Otago News* under the editorship of H.B. Graham was closely associated with Thomas Watson and his activities. It carried an abundance of news relating to sport and the social life of Dunedin generally. Inevitably Graham clashed with Cargill and Burns who succeeded in killing off his "beast of a newspaper" during 1850.²⁰ Graham's successor was altogether different. Under the editorship of W.H. Cutten, the like minded son-in-law of Cargill, the *Otago Witness* maintained a diet of political and governmental information, studiously avoiding activities of the English faction. Coverage only improved, albeit marginally, after a falling-out between Cutten and Cargill.²¹

In an editorial of 29 March 1856 Cutten condemned the disparity in spending between government buildings and public amenities.²² By Christmas 1858 he was strongly advocating

19. G. Griffiths, "History of Otago Cricket", MS, Dunedin, c1976. The pages in this manuscript are not numbered.; *Otago Witness*, 6 January 1855, p.2.

20. Olssen, op. cit., p.43.

21. Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw ...," p.15; "History of Otago cricket".

22. Crawford, "A History of Recreation and Sport", pp.63-4.

the importance of recreation to the community.

The early closing movement and half holiday system in the shops and factories of the old country may with equal advantage be adopted here, and the introduction of its manly and time-honoured games such as cricket, football ... and other healthful exercises would, were we convinced, be hailed with delight by young and old as a happy release from the cares of business, as a means towards the preservation of health and towards the furtherance of good feeling and harmony in the community.²³

To this end efforts had been made to establish sports grounds in north Dunedin. But cricket would have to wait another four years for its proper revival.

In February 1860 plans were announced for the formation of a cricket club, and application was made to the Superintendent for lease of a section of the town belt near the "swamp road". *The Colonist*, though encouraging, was not entirely optimistic.

We should be glad to see the idea carried out, but we presume it is scarcely competent for His Honour to grant the exclusive right to any portion of the belt to private individuals, however desirable the objective in view may be.²⁴

The club secured its ground, and made preparations, but played little if any cricket. It remained, according to the *Colonist*, "a splendid introduction to nothing".²⁵ Although a team of Dunedin cricketers visited Outram in 1861, suffering heavy defeat, it is not certain whether this had anything to do with the club.²⁶

From the moment Gabriel Read discovered gold at Tuapeka in May 1861, the face of Otago, and of its cricket, was changed forever. The European population of Central Otago soared from perhaps 300 to 24,000 by the end of 1863. While

23. *Otago Witness*, 25 December 1858, p.2.

24. *The Colonist*, 24 February 1860, p.5.

25. *Ibid*, 10 January 1862, p.4.

26. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.30.

it had plummeted to 7000 by April 1865, as a result of new gold discoveries in Nelson and on the West Coast, the legacy was a network of new towns, roads, railways and other amenities. Gold made Otago the most prosperous province in New Zealand. By 1870 it contained one-quarter of the entire European population and provided one third of all exports.²⁷

This transformation had an immediate impact on cricket. In January 1862, in response to numerous inquiries from recently arrived Victorian miners, *The Colonist* again called for the establishment of a Dunedin cricket club. Within two weeks, a meeting had been held and practices arranged.

The meeting, though not as large as we could have wished, was hopeful, and indicative of an interest having been evoked well calculated to give confidence to a belief that the manly and beneficial exercise of cricketing will speedily become generally appreciated and established as the favourite game of the people.²⁸

In spite of a very wet, swampy ground where it was necessary for players to roll up their trousers, the new Dunedin Cricket Club (DCC) played its first match in late February - losing to the 70th Regiment by one wicket.²⁹

With support from a Provincial Council confident and rejuvenated by gold prosperity, cricket began to flourish in Dunedin and its surrounds. With labour provided by the provincial government, detailed plans were developed to drain the swampy ground with trenches and water channels. By the time the All England XI arrived in February 1864, the ground was fully fenced and a grandstand had been erected.³⁰

Outside its intra-club matches, the DCC defeated the

²⁷. Olssen, op. cit., pp.51-70.

²⁸. *The Colonist*, 24 January 1862, p.7.

²⁹. *Otago Witness*, 25 January 1862, p.5; 22 February 1862, p.5.

³⁰. Ibid, 8 November 1862, p.5; 15 November 1862, p.5.

Princess Theatre XI in December 1862 and accepted a challenge from the Tokomairiro Cricket Club in December 1863. This was the first time two properly organised clubs had met in a match on the Dunedin ground.³¹ Although there was an attempt to establish an opposing Dunedin tradesmens' club in late 1863, this sank without trace, as did a similar attempt a year later.³²

The character and perceived status of the DCC is easily derived from its *Rules and Regulations of the Dunedin Cricket Club* published in 1863 and 1864. Membership was by nomination only, with such nomination requiring a seconder and approval by the committee. The subscription was one guinea in 1863-4, doubled for the following season. No person could be admitted to the club ground or facilities unless introduced by a member, and no Dunedin resident, other than a member, was allowed on the club ground on practice days - although members could invite a non resident friend. The club stipulated a uniform of white flannel trousers, sky blue shirt and scarlet cap which was compulsory in all club matches. Smoking was prohibited on the field during play.³³

Upon receiving a copy of the *Rules and Regulations*, the *Witness* expressed the hope that all clubs in Otago would adhere to the authority of the DCC in the manner of the MCC in Britain and Australia.³⁴ These arrangements certainly point to a deliberate attempt to create an exclusive institution. Even if

³¹. Ibid, 6 December 1862, p.5; 19 December 1863, p.5.

³². G. Griffiths, in *Otago Cricket Association Centennial Souvenir Programme 1876-1976*, Dunedin, 1976, pp.34-5.

³³. *Rules and Regulations of the Dunedin Cricket Club 1863-4 & 1864-5*, Dunedin, 1863/1864, passim.

³⁴. *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1863, p.4.

TABLE 4.2.
DUNEDIN CRICKET CLUB
COMMITTEE 1863-65

Traced: 14 of 16 members.³⁵

President:	John Hyde Harris	Superintendent
Vice President:	Alexander Carrick	merchant
Treasurer:	W.T. Glasgow	customs official
	J. Switzer	company manager
Secretaries:	J.H. Hope	customs clerk
	T.H. Ivey	banker
Committee:	John Borton	runholder
	Joseph Borton	runholder
	James Fulton	farmer/magistrate
	H.D. Maddock	lawyer
	H.J. Miller	runholder
	W.D. Murison	runholder
	F. Pantlin	stock & station agent
	Gibson Turton	lawyer
	Julius Vogel	journalist/editor

³⁵. Sources: Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw", passim; *New Zealand Directory* 1866-7.

one could afford the relatively high subscription, the nomination process remained as an effective safety valve.

Not surprisingly, the DCC committee (Table 4.2) was dominated by men of business, wealth and public standing. Eleven of fourteen belong to the High White-Collar categories 1 and 2. Harris, the provincial Superintendent 1863-5, was a leading public figure in Dunedin from his arrival in 1850. A lawyer in partnership with Gibson Turton, he was a founding partner in the *Otago Witness*, large landowner, MPC 1853-8 and MLC 1858-64, and Attorney General in the Stafford Ministry. He served as Mayor of Dunedin in 1867.³⁶ Alexander Carrick was a prosperous merchant with R.B. Martin & Co.. Switzer was the manager of the Dunedin Boot Co. Ltd. Ivey later became the manager of the Bank of New South Wales in Auckland. The Borton brothers were large runholders in North Otago.³⁷ James Fulton (1830-91), educated at Cheltenham and Blackheath and a resident of Otago since 1848, served as a magistrate throughout the 1860s and 1870s, was MHR for Taieri 1879-90 and MLC in 1891.³⁸ Henry Miller (1830-1918), educated at Eton and Oxford - where he rowed against Cambridge, was MPC 1863-7, and MLC 1865-1918 (speaker 1892-1903). Knighted in 1901, he held extensive interests in land, mining and industry.³⁹ Murison, a runholder in the Maniototo district later became the editor of the *Otago Daily Times*. Pantlin was a director of Power, Pantlin & Co. stock

³⁶. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, pp.362-3.

³⁷. *New Zealand Directory: 1866/67*, passim; *Wises New Zealand Directory 1878/79*, Wellington, 1879, passim; R. Pinney, *Early North Otago Runs*, Auckland, 1981, pp.120-1.

³⁸. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, pp.283-4.

³⁹. Ibid, Vol.2, p.84.

and station agents.⁴⁰ Vogel, soon to become one of New Zealand's most influential politicians, both as Premier and Colonial Treasurer, was, at the time of his cricket involvement, MPC and founding editor of the *Otago Daily Times*.⁴¹

In large part, it was this committee which assisted Shadrach Jones in organising the visit of George Parr's All England XI in February 1864. They controlled and developed the ground and selected the Otago team - both for the All England games and the first interprovincial fixture against Canterbury. Yet for all of its pretensions, the DCC did not necessarily embody the playing strength of Otago cricket. For that the net had to be cast much wider, and the All England match committee was determined that as many country cricketers as possible, especially Victorian miners, should be involved in their preparations.

Cricket had been played at East Taieri as early as 1858 and two teams of Waikouaiti squatters played a match for a full set of cricket gear and a champagne dinner in November 1863. A club was functioning at Port Chalmers by the end of 1863, and others appeared rapidly following gold discoveries. A club existed at Dunstan (Clyde) by November 1862, and played at Alexandra in September 1863. Arrowtown played Queenstown in December. Oamaru had a strong club by the beginning of 1864, and Cromwell almost certainly played Clyde

⁴⁰. Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw ...", pp.22-4; *New Zealand Directory: 1866/67*, passim.

⁴¹. *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.563-6.

TABLE: 4.3.
OTAGO XXII v. ALL ENGLAND XI 1864

Traced: 22 of 29 players.⁴²

James. Bradshaw	miner/journalist
W. Cobden	? - Victorian
Richard Coulstock	artisan - Victorian
Thomas Fleming	farmer
James. Fulton	farmer/magistrate
John Hyde Harris	lawyer
? Hamilton	? - Victorian
John Hope	customs clerk
John Jacomb	artisan - Victorian
? Learmouth	? - Victorian
Christopher Mace	miner
Henry Mace	miner
John Mace	miner
Henry Maddock	lawyer
F.V. Martin	shop manager
F. McDonald	artisan - Victorian
Charles Morris	? - Victorian
William Murison	runholder
Richard Nelmes	farm worker
James Redfearn	? - Victorian
William Rees	runholder
Gibson Turton	lawyer

⁴². Sources: Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw ..."; "W.G. Rees and his cricketing cousins" notes on some early arrivals in Otago, No.3, Dunedin, 1971, passim; Jury list, *Otago Witness*, February 1859/1861; *Daily Telegraph*, 14 December 1863, p.5.

at the end of the same year.⁴³

These developments are clearly evident in the Otago teams which opposed All England (Table 4.3). Fulton, Harris, Hope, Maddock, Murison and Turton have been noted already. Six of the team (Bradshaw, the Mace brothers, Redfearn, Rees) came from the Wakatipu/Queenstown area, and of the eight Victorians included, it is likely that all were, at some stage, miners. Coulstock, Jacomb, Christopher and John Mace and Redfearn had played for Victoria in the previous few years.⁴⁴ James Bradshaw (1831-86), possibly educated at Haileybury, was a successful miner in Victoria and New Zealand. At the time of the All England matches he was editor of the *Wakatipu Mail*. Delegated various goldfields' powers by the government, he was MHR for Goldfields' Towns 1866-70 and Waikaia 1871-5 and MPC 1871-3. An advocate of liberal land policy, he was responsible for framing important labour legislation during the 1870s - the 1873 Employment of Females Act and amendments to the Factories Act.⁴⁵ The Mace brothers, from a strong cricketing tradition in Bedale, Yorkshire, were miners throughout the 1860s before turning to small farming. Henry Mace, who played for Wellington as late as 1878, was a founder member of the New Zealand Trotting Club.⁴⁶ William Gilbert Rees (1827-98), was a first cousin of the Grace and Pocock cricket dynasties. Educated at the Royal Naval School, he worked on the goldfields and as a station manager in

43. *Otago Witness*, 21 November 1863, p.5; *Centennial Souvenir Programme*, p.14.

44. R. Webster, comp. *First-Class Cricket in Australia: Vol.1, 1850-51/1941-42*, Melbourne, 1991, *passim*.

45. Griffiths, "Sale, Bradshaw...", p.8; Scholefield, *op. cit.*, Vol.1, p.88.

46. G. Griffiths, "The Maces of Macetown", notes on some early arrivals in Otago, No.2, Dunedin, 1969, *passim*.

Australia before becoming the first runholder at Lake Wakatipu. After losing his land to gold prospectors, he became a run manager and government stock inspector who never tired of highlighting his cricketing relations.⁴⁷

In sum, the hub of Otago cricket was as much in country players and Victorian miners as the DCC. Indeed cricket in Dunedin was slow to take advantage of the impetus offered by the visit of the All England XI. A North Dunedin Cricket Club was formed in January 1864 and played its first match against the DCC at the end of February. It had a ground and enjoyed the patronage of John Hyde Harris as President. But its career was always sporadic and its players are impossible to trace.⁴⁸ Yet it was the only other active club in Dunedin until the Citizens Cricket Club was formed by tradesmen at the end of 1868.

The DCC had its own problems. By the end of 1865 there was obviously a scarcity of players. The intra-club match between "North" and "South" Dunedin mustered only nine players on each side. Another match a month later also failed to draw a full complement, or an umpire, and there were complaints when the *Witness* declined to publish the score.⁴⁹ Lack of opposition undoubtedly contributed to the declining interest. The club frequently played 1st XI against next XVIII or married against single, and in February 1869 it was proposed to play "1st XI with pick handles" against "2nd XI with bats".⁵⁰ Even external matches such as that against a

47. Griffiths, "W.G. Rees and his Cricketing Cousins", passim.

48. *Daily Telegraph*, 9 January 1864, p.4; 20 February 1864, p.4.

49. *Otago Witness*, 25 November 1865, p.12; 16 December 1865, p.12.

50. For example, *Otago Daily Times*, 27 November 1868, p.2; 25 January 1869, p.3; 30 January 1869, p.2; 27 February 1869, p.2.

bankers XI, or between two XI's of the legal profession, involved few other than DCC players.⁵¹

After unsuccessful attempts to found a tradesmen's club earlier in the decade, the Citizens Cricket Club was finally formed at the end of 1868 and survived until 1877.⁵² While the vast majority of its members can not be traced with any accuracy, there were a number of butchers, printers and painters. Among the last group was Henry Smith Fish Jr (1838-97), MPC 1870-1, long serving Dunedin City Councillor and six times Mayor, MHR 1881-4, 1887-93, 1896-7.⁵³ The Club could claim at least 35 players at its foundation, but was not strong enough to play Dunedin on even terms.⁵⁴ Of similar composition to Citizens was Albion which began as a junior team in 1868. The majority of its founding members were in trades by the mid 1870s.⁵⁵

The DCC retained its business and professional composition into the 1870s - mostly banking and legal staff.⁵⁶ With perhaps 100 paying members, it monopolised provincial teams, controlled the only suitable ground and hired a professional player/coach - firstly Bill Hendley then George Paramour.⁵⁷ But its domination appears reasonably benevolent in that it readily allowed use of its ground for Citizens and

51. Ibid, 21 November 1868, p.2; 8 January 1869, p.2.

52. Ibid, 27 November 1868, p.2;

53. DNZB, Vol.2, pp.143-4.

54. *Otago Daily Times*, 17 December 1868, p.2.

55. Ibid, 26 December 1868, p.2; *Wises New Zealand Directory 1878/79*, passim; *Albion Cricket Club Jubilee Souvenir Programme*, Dunedin, 1912, passim.

56. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 November 1868, p.2; 8 January 1869, p.2.

57. Griffiths, "History of Otago cricket"; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.49.

scratch matches and invited both Citizens and Oamaru to nominate players for the provincial team.⁵⁸

Ironically, the expansion of clubs and participants signalled a significant decline in the fortunes of the Otago provincial team. DCC players such as Fulton, Hope, Maddock, Murison, and Turton, continued to dominate provincial teams which regularly defeated Canterbury during the late 1860s. But the retirement of this talented group by 1870 exposed the true depth of Otago cricket against the advances being made in Canterbury. That this decline also accompanied the end of the gold era is more coincidental. While the departure of Victorian players is likely to have shrunk the base of Otago cricket, and certainly caused a stagnation among some of the early country clubs, there were few Victorians in the strong Otago teams of 1865-70. Otago had benefited from one of those inexplicable quirks of cricketing demography which concentrate a number of talented players together at the same time. But it did not have the means to sustain it.

Although a different path had been taken, the structure of Otago cricket had evolved to a point more advanced than that in Wellington and Auckland by 1870. From being a peripheral, if not alien, activity which owed its revival to gold discoveries and an artificial injection of talented Victorian players, the DCC came to occupy a comparable position to that of the Wellington and United clubs. Its membership was more exclusive than its counterparts, but its progress relied on the same patterns of patronage and control from provincial

⁵⁸. *Otago Daily Times*, 30 November 1868, p.2; 12 December 1868, p.2.

politicians. Likewise, the minor clubs, Citizens and Albion, were trade and working men's bodies. Inferior in finance, facilities and players, their inability to compete on the field tended to remove them from any meaningful role in the development of interprovincial cricket. Moreover, as the DCC was obliged to find competitiveness in its internal matches, this further accentuated a delineation along class lines. This would produce antagonism and finally secessions from the Otago Cricket Association in 1882.

MAP 5.1 CHRISTCHURCH AND ENVIRONS



CHAPTER FIVE
A PROPER ENGLISH GAME
CRICKET IN CANTERBURY 1850-70

Cricket in Canterbury began later than in every other major province except Hawkes Bay. Yet the development of Canterbury cricket can be, and should be, studied at greater length than any other. The organisational and playing standard of the province made it almost unbeatable during the 1870s. It achieved the first victory against an international touring team and undertook the first tour outside New Zealand. It hosted the first game involving a fully representative New Zealand team in 1894 and played a pivotal role in the formation of the New Zealand Cricket Council at the end of the same year. Moreover, the high public profile of early Canterbury cricketers and administrators guaranteed a wider social significance for cricket that was unknown in other provinces.

In achieving its success, Canterbury cricket also developed strong class distinctions. There was no effective challenge to elite monopoly until the early 1870s. When a coherent second club did emerge its membership remained as predominantly artisan as that of the established club remained elite and professional.

The structure of Canterbury cricket during its first three

decades is a direct reflection of the Canterbury Association. Like Wellington and Otago before, the initial colonisation of Canterbury owed much to careful planning and regulation. The New Zealand Company harboured plans for a more strictly denominational Church of England settlement in New Zealand as early as 1843. But it was only when the ideas of John Robert Godley (1814-61) merged with those of Edward Gibbon Wakefield that something concrete evolved.

Perhaps it is significant that the Canterbury Association was formed in 1848 - the year of European revolution. For Godley, like Cargill and Burns at the same time in Otago, shared the gloomy Wakefieldian preoccupation with a breakdown of democracy and a threatening industrial proletariat. To this he added more personal and deeply religious perceptions of a declining moral standard and excessive politicisation within the Church of England. While the Wakefield principle provided the basic mechanism of social order in the new colony, Godley also envisaged a diocesan establishment in Canterbury, complete with Bishop, cathedral chapter and clergy, as well as denominational schools and a College.¹

By virtue of Godley's Harrow and Oxford education, High Church toryism and landed social origins, the Canterbury Association possessed considerable status and influence from the outset. Its initial list of 59 members included two archbishops, seven bishops, fourteen peers, four baronets and sixteen members of parliament.² There were inevitably

1. L.C. Webb in J. Hight & C.R. Straubel, eds, *A History of Canterbury: Vol.1 to 1854*, Christchurch, 1957, pp.135-51.

2. *Ibid*, p.150.

problems. Initially slow land sales created a deterrent for other investors, as did an embarrassing fiasco surrounding the appointment of a Bishop. But Canterbury was undoubtedly the best organised and planned of the Wakefield settlements. Emigration selection criteria were fairly strictly geared to the objective of providing a sober and industrious labouring class to serve the cultivated elite who could afford Wakefield's "sufficient price". If Canterbury could not quite obtain a noble family to place at the top of its colonial hierarchy, it did transplant an unprecedented concentration of middle class respectability to New Zealand.³

The Canterbury ideal collapsed for the same reasons it did everywhere else. Even more than in the north, the land was more suited to pastoralism and not close agricultural settlement. Likewise, outside social and economic forces diluted the ideal, and the new environment caused its own broadening of attitude among even the most dedicated Canterbury Association colonists. The surrender of its charter by the New Zealand Company in July 1850 also posed problems. With one sixth of Canterbury Association land sale money now being diverted to the Crown to pay company debts, there was much less available for the proposed public works scheme.⁴

Nevertheless, L.C. Webb's verdict on Canterbury is a reminder of how relatively successful the Canterbury settlement was.

Wakefield's aspiration to found a colony which would reproduce the social gradations of an English county was more nearly realised in Canterbury than in any of the other settlements in Australia or New Zealand, chiefly because upper middle class colonists were attracted to Canterbury and

3. Ibid, pp.157,163,178; McIntyre, op. cit., pp.34-5.

4. McIntyre, op. cit., pp.34-5.

flourished there.⁵

Even when estrangement developed between the Canterbury Association and its colonists during the early 1850s, a majority of Association supporters were returned in the first Provincial Council election in 1853.⁶ Their ideals may have crumbled, but they set a lasting social and administrative tone.

Without the guarantee of precise figures, it is still safe enough to say that Canterbury attracted a disproportionate number of English public school and Oxbridge graduates reaching New Zealand in the years 1850-1880. Moreover this educated gentry used their wealth to ensure that the much quoted stereotype of Canterbury as "more English than England" was perpetuated among the next generation - the native born. Although Otago gold prosperity allowed it to establish a university college in 1869, four years ahead of Canterbury, Christchurch's well endowed Christ's College, with a notional collegiate department, was the leading school in the colony by 1870.⁷ Christ's College would remain at the hub of local cricket throughout the nineteenth century and produce more than its share of provincial and international representatives.

Cricket in Canterbury was inaugurated with an advertisement in the *Lyttelton Times* of 21 June 1851 - seven months after the arrival of the first four ships.

⁵. Webb, op. cit., p.233.

⁶. Ibid, pp.213-14.

⁷. W.J. Gardner, *Colonial Cap and Gown: Studies in the mid-Victorian Universities of Australasia*, Christchurch, 1979, pp.27-34.

"CHRISTCHURCH CRICKET CLUB

"President: J.R. Godley, Esq. Committee: W.G. Brittan, Esq., J.C. Boys, Esq., T. Cass, Esq., W. Deans, Esq., R.J.S. Harman, Esq., A.G. Perceval, Esq., J.C.W. Russell, Esq., H. Tancred, Esq., J. Townsend, Esq., and E.R. Ward, Esq. J. Wortley and C.C. Bowen Hon. Secretaries.

"The Club will hold their first meeting for play on their ground in Hagley Park on Saturday, 4th October.

"Gentlemen desirous of becoming members are requested to communicate with the Hon. Secretaries. Annual Sub. 10/6. Entrance fee 10/6."⁸

That the club had apparently secured a designated ground in Hagley Park is remarkable, though unsurprising, in view of Godley's presidency and the calibre of his committee. That the subscription and entrance fees were a relatively preclusive 10s/6d is also unsurprising. For the membership of the Christchurch Cricket Club (CCC) during its first two years could not have provided a more deliberate embodiment of the Canterbury hierarchy. And the first match left no doubt as to the proposed social order.

The match, on the first anniversary of the settlement, 16 December 1851, was between the CCC and a "Working Men's XI". When play ended owing to darkness, the CCC required 34 to win - having scored 131 and dismissed their opponents for 72 and 93 - high scores for the period in New Zealand. Godley contributed 24 - second highest score. But more importantly, the occasion exhibited many familiar characteristics.

It was difficult to believe that [the] occasion was not much more remote than a mere twelve month, so English was the appearance of that part of the great grassy plain in which the revellers assembled themselves: the scene bore no unapt resemblance to the open air holiday-making in the neighbourhood of some country town at home.

The only major differences were the wide open spaces and the much more orderly conduct of spectators compared to England.⁹

⁸. *Lyttelton Times*, 21 June 1851, p.1.

⁹. *Ibid*, 20 December 1851, p.1.

TABLE: 5.1.
CHRISTCHURCH CRICKET CLUB
COMMITTEE AND PLAYERS 1851-52

Traced: 22 of 24 players.¹⁰

C. Bowen	-	MPC		
C.C. Bowen	secretary	MPC	MHR	MLC
J.C. Boys	surveyor			
W.G. Brittan	surgeon	MPC		
T. Cass	surveyor	MPC		
W. Deans	farmer			
E.B. Fitton	lawyer			
J.R. Godley	administrator			
R.J.S. Harman	estate agent	MPC		
C.C. Haslewood	runholder	MPC		
J. Longden	merchant			
A.G. Perceval	runholder			
J.C. Porter	runholder			
J.. Sidebottom	overseer			
H. Tancred	runholder	MPC	MHR	MLC
R. Townsend	runholder			
E.J. Wakefield	-	MPC	MHR	
E.R. Ward	farmer			
H. Ward	farmer			
J.C. Watts-Russell	runholder			MLC

¹⁰. Sources: *Lyttelton Times*, 13 December 1851, p.1; 20 December 1851, p.1; 3 April 1852, p.3.

It is very deceptive to analyse the members of the Christchurch Cricket Club (Table 5.1) in terms of standard occupational categories. Many were "gentleman", and it was wealth and their contribution to provincial administration which determined status, rather than a specific occupation. The original CCC committee with Godley, as President, contained the core of Canterbury leaders and others who did a great deal to shape the future of the province. And their patronage of the CCC, during the 1850s, was sustained rather than sporadic - a genuine interest rather than a social necessity. In the interests of brevity, only the most influential and those most actively involved with sporting administration need to be considered in detail. But implicit in the collective influence of the CCC as a whole is some explanation as to why Canterbury cricketers, and sporting enthusiasts generally, had much less difficulty than those in other centres in securing funds and, above all, permanent or semi-permanent playing fields. Those in positions of influence and responsibility in Canterbury provincial government (1853-76) undoubtedly had a greater empathy with sport than their counterparts in Wellington, Auckland and Otago.

Charles Bowen snr, a personal friend of Godley, was thrice Deputy Superintendent of Canterbury, but returned to England in 1864.¹¹ His son, Charles Christopher Bowen (1830-1917), was one of the most regular Christchurch cricketers during the 1850s, and a strong supporter thereafter. Educated at Rugby and Cambridge, he was initially private secretary to Godley. From 1852-74, he held numerous official posts

¹¹. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, p.80.

including Inspector of Police. Provincial Treasurer, Commissioner of Native Reserves and Resident Magistrate. During the 1850s he was also sometime editor and then joint owner of the *Lyttelton Times*. A member of the Vogel and Atkinson ministries 1874-77, he was the architect of the 1877 Education Bill and a longtime member and then Vice Chancellor of the senate of the University of New Zealand. Speaker of the Legislative Council from 1905, Bowen was knighted in 1910, KCMG 1914. He was also a committee member of the Canterbury Rowing Club and Canterbury Jockey Club - both exclusive institutions.¹²

Among other prominent players were Canterbury's two leading surveyors, Thomas Cass (1817-95) and John Cowell Boys (1814-89). Both held numerous local and central government posts.¹³ William Guise Brittan (1809-76) was educated at Plymouth Grammar School and trained as a surgeon. He supervised the initial land allocation in Christchurch in 1851, and was thereafter a commissioner on various land bodies and a Resident Magistrate from 1856. A member of the first Synod of the Canterbury Diocese (1859), Brittan was also a founder member of the Canterbury Jockey Club, Horticultural Society and Farmers Club. His brother Joseph Brittan, also a regular cricketer during the 1850s, was the first editor and owner of the *Canterbury Standard*, a Magistrate and MPC 1855-7, 1861-2.¹⁴

William Deans (1817-51), educated at Kilmarnock Academy, was the progenitor of a strong family tradition in

¹². DNZB, Vol. 1, p.33.

¹³. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, pp.84,

¹⁴. Ibid, pp.94-5.

Canterbury sport. After initial legal training, he established a very prosperous farm at Riccarton in 1843. Deans declined a seat on the Legislative Council, and drowned before the 1851 match.¹⁵ Another committee member to suffer this fate, shortly after the match, was Edward Robert Ward - secretary to the Society of Canterbury Colonists.¹⁶

Richard Harman (1826-1902) maintained a long association with Canterbury cricket and cricketers. Educated at Rugby and qualified as a civil engineer, he was variously a land and estate agent, surveyor and runholder. As well as extensive involvement in church, educational and local body affairs, he founded the Canterbury Rifle Association and served as first president of both the Canterbury Rowing Club and the Canterbury Football Club. His business partner, E.C.J. Stevens, was a talented cricketer of whom more will be said in due course.¹⁷

The most well connected player was Henry John Tancred (1816?-1884). The son of a Baronet, Sir Thomas Tancred, he was educated at Rugby and had extensive military service in Europe during the 1840s. A large runholder in Canterbury and a powerful force in education, he was a fellow of Christ's College and first Vice Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, 1871-84.¹⁸

The remaining members of the first CCC were, almost without exception, wealthy runholders with some interest in public affairs. Edward Fitton was an ex Harley St lawyer who

¹⁵. Ibid, pp.197-8.

¹⁶. Ibid, Vol.2, p.468.

¹⁷. Ibid, Vol.1, p.

¹⁸. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.423-4.

was gazetted a Canterbury Magistrate in 1858.¹⁹ John Watts Russell, of a landed Staffordshire family, was a leading Freemason who became the first Grandmaster in Canterbury.²⁰ Perceval, along with his brothers who were also Christchurch cricketers, held several Crown land leases with little success during the 1850s. That one of the Perceval's sons inherited the Earldom of Egmont is sufficient evidence of money and connections in the family. But L.G.D. Acland gave them a damning assessment; "They were rather wilder and more irresponsible than many other young men of good family who came to Canterbury, which is saying a good deal".²¹ The final member of the CCC who ought to be noted is Edward Jerminham Wakefield (1820-79). In a career inevitably shaped by that of his father, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, he achieved early success as an agent and propagandist for the New Zealand Company and for his *Adventure in New Zealand* published in 1845. Thereafter he maintained a desultory existence as a writer and politician with a reputation for flawed brilliance and wasted talent.²²

Almost every member of the CCC possessed education, qualification, wealth or influence well above the average and in marked contrast to the majority of cricketers in Wellington, Auckland and Otago during the same period. And this was to be of considerable advantage to the CCC during its first few

¹⁹. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, cards, Canterbury Museum Library.

²⁰. DNZB, Vol.1, pp.577-8.

²¹. L.G.D. Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, 4th ed., Christchurch, 1975, pp.237-8. Acland contains much detail on cricketers in Table 5.1 whose biographical details are not given above.

²². DNZB, Vol.1, pp.575-6.

years. By the time the second major match, "Married Gentlemen" against "Single", was played in April 1852, a £30 subscription had been raised for improvements to the Hagley Park ground.²³ By September 1854, further generous subscriptions had enabled more improvements and the erection of a pavilion - possibly the first in New Zealand. The *Lyttelton Times* reported that every arrangement had been made for the comfort of members and visitors, and hinted that a groundsman had been employed to maintain facilities during the winter.²⁴

Aside from a single "Challengers" versus "All Canterbury" match in April 1853,²⁵ which drew largely on members of the CCC, the majority of early matches were internal "Married" against "Single" affairs. The "Working Men's XI" of 1851 reappeared only once more - in early 1852, and an attempt to form a Mechanics CC apparently amounted to nothing.²⁶ It is equally apparent that the CCC had the resources - and leisure - to travel further afield reasonably regularly. Matches were being played against Kaiapoi by late 1853, "Lincoln Rd" by late 1854 and Rangiora by February 1855.²⁷ While these areas are virtually within the confines of modern Christchurch, they constituted a long and arduous journey during the early 1850s. Indeed the efforts of the CCC and Rangiora did not go unnoticed by the *Lyttelton Times*. "Their energy in getting up cricket so far up the country, will give a spirit to this thoroughly English game, which it is to be hoped

23. *Lyttelton Times*, 3 April 1852, p.3.

24. *Ibid*, 7 January 1854, p.7; 29 April 1854, p.7; 30 September 1854, p.4.

25. *Ibid*, 12 March 1853, p.12; 2 April 1853, p.10.

26. *Ibid*, 20 December 1851, p.1

27. *Ibid*, 7 January 1854, p.7; 20 January 1855, p.5; 7 March 1855, p.4.

will not flag.²⁸

These “up country” matches hardly represent a broadening base for Canterbury cricket. The “Lincoln Rd” team contained several of the original 1851-2 CCC players and other public school men,²⁹ while the Rangiora match was more in the manner of English Country House cricket. Played at the homestead of Henry Torlesse, the Rangiora team, most of whom played fairly regularly in Christchurch during the 1850s, consisted of James and John Boys, James and Robert Townsend, Charles and Henry Torlesse, Crosbie and Hamilton Ward, W. Sadler and H. Green.³⁰ The Townsend’s and Boys’ have been noted already, and the Ward’s were brothers of Edward and Henry Ward of the 1851-2 Christchurch teams. Crosbie Ward (1832-67), educated at Trinity College, was a very wealthy runholder near Rangiora. MPC, 1857-8, and MHR from 1858, he became Postmaster General and Secretary for Crown Lands in the Fox Ministry, 1861-3. Part owner of the *Lyttelton Times* with C.C. Bowen, he founded both the Canterbury Rifle Volunteers and Lyttelton Chamber of Commerce. Ward died in London while acting as Canterbury Emigration Agent.³¹

The Torlesse brothers, nephews of E.G. Wakefield, owned Fernside station and Birch Hill station with other land holdings in the Rangiora area. Charles Obins Torlesse (1825-66) had been a New Zealand Company surveyor, participated in the 1848 Canterbury survey and later became a stock and station

²⁸. Ibid, 7 March 1855, p.4.

²⁹. Ibid, 20 January 1855, p.5. There is reference to a Mr Louard, of good cricketing pedigree, reinforcing the Lincoln team in its innings victory over CCC. This player can not be traced.

³⁰. D.N. Hawkins, *Rangiora: The Passing Years and People in a Canterbury Country Town*, Christchurch, 1983, p.60.

³¹. DNZB, Vol.1, p.576.

TABLE: 5.2.
OTHER REGULAR CHRISTCHURCH CRICKET CLUB
PLAYERS 1852-6

J. Bealey	runholder	MPC		
C.R. Blakiston	co. manager	MPC		MLC
T. Bruce	runholder			
I. Cookson	runholder	MPC		
A.C. Croft	surgeon			
J.E. FitzGerald	editor	MPC	MHR	
C.B. Fooks	runholder	MPC		
Mathias	runholder			
C. Perceval	runholder			
A. Porter	runholder			
Rev. J. Raven	runholder			
H. Sewell	lawyer	MPC	MHR	MLC
J. Studholme	runholder	MPC	MHR	
H. Worsley	runholder			

agent in Christchurch. After the sale of their properties in 1859, Henry Torlesse (1833-70) was ordained.³² Green was a cart and wagon driver working for the Torlesses', and Sadler, though a drayman and farm worker at the time, had come to New Zealand on their recommendation. He was apparently of a "better class" and later owned land in the Rangiora area.³³

Throughout the early 1850s there was no change in the nature of Christchurch Cricket Club membership. The players in Table 5.2, although not as collectively influential as the founding committee, nevertheless all belong to the High White-Collar categories and include several figures of considerable importance. Among a large number of prosperous runholders, Studholme accumulated a considerable fortune around Waimate, South Canterbury. John Raven, educated at Shrewsbury and Cambridge, had rowed against Oxford in 1844. Worsley had a long involvement with the committee of the Canterbury Jockey Club. A.C. Croft was a surgeon, Kaiapoi landowner, brewery owner during the 1860s and finally Ashburton coroner.³⁴ Charles Blakiston (1825-98), a landowner near Kaiapoi, was provincial secretary, 1859-61, and Christchurch managing director of the Trust and Agency Company of Australia, 1863-98.³⁵

James Edward FitzGerald (1818-96), educated at Bath and Christ's College, Cambridge, was originally Secretary and Emigration Agent for the Canterbury Association. Arriving in Christchurch in 1850, he assumed various posts in the colonial

³². Acland, *op. cit.*, pp.77-8.

³³. Hawkins, *op. cit.* p.60.

³⁴. Acland, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁵. Scholefield, *op. cit.*, Vol.1, p.74.

government, founded and edited the *Lyttelton Times* and was elected first Superintendent of Canterbury, 1853-7. Dogged by ill health, he declined the Governorship of both British Columbia and Queensland. Founding editor and proprietor of *The Press*, 1861, he was briefly Minister of Native Affairs in the Fox ministry. FitzGerald then retired from politics to spent his last thirty years as comptroller of the public accounts in Wellington.³⁶ Henry Sewell (1807-79) enjoyed a career equally as notable as FitzGerald although he was in New Zealand for only seventeen years. A lawyer by profession, he arrived in 1853 as an official of the Canterbury Association, held numerous senior government posts, served in eight ministries, 1856-73, and was the first premier of New Zealand for a brief period in 1856. Sewell was a frequent New Zealand ministerial representative when in London.³⁷

The nature of the CCC and its successors is as much about influential membership as about how rigorously its exclusiveness was enforced. The 41 individuals noted above are those who appeared consistently during a season or seasons in the first five years of the CCC, 1851-56. Perhaps fifteen other players represented the club during this period - most only once. Fifteen of the 41 were at some time members of the Provincial Council, nine served in the General Assembly - House of Representatives or Legislative Council. While many assumed these positions after their active playing days, it is clear enough that the CCC was inextricably bound to both

³⁶. DNZB, Vol.1, pp.125-6.

³⁷. Ibid, pp.391-3.

landed wealth and political influence - what might be termed the elite of the Canterbury elite.

Breaking into this circle entailed overcoming several obstacles. Most immediate was having the time to play cricket. Working men encountered difficulty gaining leave from employers.³⁸ Moreover it was unlikely that they could easily afford an annual subscription which was 10s/6d in 1852 and climbed as high as £2 in 1867.³⁹ But the greatest barrier was that entry to the CCC, as with the Dunedin Cricket Club, was by nomination, and this process was certainly operated with discretion. For when the reintegrated Christchurch Cricket Club sought to secure the lease for a new Hagley Park ground at the end of 1860, revised provincial government regulations dictated that it could only do so if it abandoned existing membership restrictions and became "quite public"⁴⁰. The constitution was accordingly revised and the name of the club changed to Canterbury Cricket Club..⁴¹ But the change was cosmetic rather than actual.

Even with such influential support, Canterbury was not entirely immune from the decline in cricketing fortune which marked the other main centres during the mid 1850s. Late in 1856 it was reported that the CCC was being forced to vacate its ground in Hagley Park. Although a new location had been found, and the club issued a call for subscriptions to enable redevelopment, there were no reported cricket matches during

³⁸. *The Press*, 20 August 1867, p.2.

³⁹. *Lyttelton Times*, 2 October 1852, p.1; *The Press*, 20 May 1867, p.2.

⁴⁰. *Lyttelton Times*, 27 October 1860, p.4.

⁴¹. *Ibid*.

the 1857-8 season. When the bulk of the Christchurch club re-emerged the following season, as the Avonside Cricket Club, they occupied a paddock owned by W.G. Brittan.⁴²

The club structure during this period is a little vague. By early 1860 the mantle of Canterbury cricket had definitely shifted to the Avonside club - described as a prestigious and successful institution whose membership consisted largely of "the playing gentlemen of the province". It had achieved numerous victories on Brittan's paddock. The Christchurch club remained, also for "gentlemen", but its playing strength was apparently very weak. It did, however, possess the best ground and facilities - in Hagley Park. Joining these two in 1858 was Albion - a club for young tradesmen and working men. It secured a small ground in Latimer Square.⁴³

There is no surviving evidence to explain the Christchurch CC split. Indeed, the matter became purely academic in October 1860 when Christchurch and most of Avonside were reconstituted as a single Christchurch Cricket Club which promptly changed its name to the Canterbury Cricket Club.⁴⁴ Thus the continuity of the 1850s was preserved and, with Albion's arrival, the scene was set for a two club domination of Christchurch cricket which would last until the emergence of the Lancaster Park Cricket Club in the early 1880s.

The new Canterbury Cricket Club made rapid progress and the variety of cricket played in Christchurch expanded

42. Ibid, 15 November 1856, p.6; 23 November 1859, p.4; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket: 1841-1914*, pp.27-30.

43. *Lyttelton Times*, 18 December 1858, p.4; 17 March 1860, pp.4-5.

44. Ibid, 27 October 1860, p.4. A localised Avonside Cricket Club remained until at least the end of 1863.

significantly even before the boost provided by the All England XI at the beginning of 1864. The Hagley Park ground, with watering from a recently imported fire engine, developed quickly and 2000 spectators witnessed its first game, "Christchurch" against "All Canterbury" on 16 December 1861. By November 1863 the Club had secured a professional bowler, J.W. Stevens, who offered his services at 3s an hour - a more than respectable rate of pay for the period. By September 1865 there were 80 playing and 44 honorary members, with prospects for an increase.⁴⁵

Albion was the only other club of any substance at this time - surviving in low key fashion until at least the end of 1864. Throughout this period, it lacked both the finance and influence to develop a suitable ground and was seldom able to provide effective opposition for its more established rival. After two years in abeyance, it had a much heralded revival in October 1867, with a well attended match and Club dinner on a new ground in Latimer Square. But the new club lasted only two seasons.⁴⁶ There were no organised matches for the club in 1869-70 and the name Albion finally disappeared as members reconstituted themselves into a new Christchurch Cricket Club in February 1870 - soon to become the Midland Canterbury Cricket Club (MCCC).⁴⁷

Only eleven Albion players, active during the period 1858-68, can be identified. Of these, only four can be traced

⁴⁵. Ibid, 23 October 1861, p.4; 21 December 1861, p.4; *The Press*, 19 November 1863, p.4; 30 September 1865, p.2.

⁴⁶. *The Press*, 27 August 1867, p.2; 2 October 1867, p.2.

⁴⁷. Ibid, 22 February 1870, p.2.

with any certainty - Joseph Bargrove (butcher/builder), William Calvert (tinsmith), E.P. and W. Maples (publicans/wine and spirit merchants).⁴⁸ Calvert and E.P. Maples represented Canterbury in 1868-9. Again it is a safe assumption that the lack of information concerning most members of the club is commensurate with their social standing

By the end of 1861 cricket matches were quite regular in Christchurch. Both Canterbury and Albion played the usual range of intra-club matches, but do not seem to have played each other before 1867. Avonside had played a Christ's College XI as early as March 1859 and repeated the match at the end of the year. The school team was to become a major component of local cricket by the late 1860s.⁴⁹ Matches were played between companies of the Canterbury Rifle Volunteers, Avonside played Lincoln in 1861, Kaiapoi played Rangiora in December 1863 and Albion played Avonside, Rangiora, Heathcote Valley and St Albans during the 1863-64 season. In January 1863 it was reported that an Old Rugbeans XI was willing to play an XI of the other public schools of England - although the match is not recorded. *The Press* and *Lyttelton Times* offices also began a regular series of matches in February 1864.⁵⁰ A new Christchurch Cricket Club was formed in 1863, but references to it are scarce, the players can not be traced, and in 1866 it was absorbed by the Canterbury Cricket Club.

48. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

49. *Lyttelton Times*, 30 March 1859, p.4; 3 December 1859, p.4.

50. Ibid, 2 March 1861, p.5; 13 April 1861, p.4; *The Press*, 3 January 1863, p.6; 4 November 1863, p.3; 11 December 1863, p.4; 18 December 1863, p.3; 28 January 1864, p.2; 18 February 1864, p.2; 30 April 1864, p.4; 10 October 1865, p.2.

TABLE: 5.3.
CANTERBURY XXII v. ALL ENGLAND XI
1864

Traced: 17 of 22 players.

J.H. Bennett	accountant/auctioneer
A.F.N. Blakiston	merchant/ agent
W.H. Dawe	commission agent
G. Dickenson	diary farmer
E.F. Knyvett	runholder
H.P. Lance	farmer/horse breeder
B. Parkerson	runholder
A Powys	farmer
R. Powys	farmer
G. Sale	provincial treasurer
E.C.J. Stevens	land & commission agent
J.W. Stevens	professional cricketer
A.E. Tennant	clerk
T.R. Moore	sheepfarmer
G. Turner	clerk
T. W. Wills	professional cricketer
J.B. Wilson	storekeeper

The visit to Christchurch of George Parr's All England XI, in February 1864, points to some reduction in the domination of Canterbury cricket by the local elite. The Canterbury XXII (Table 5.3) contained only six players from the High White-Collar occupational categories, but nine from the Low White-Collar Categories 3, 4 and 5. Again, the failure to trace others perhaps points to their social origins. Yet the team still did not lack for important public figures.

By far the most prominent, not only in sporting terms, were Edward Cephas John Stevens (1837-1915) and George Samuel Sale (1831-1922). Educated at Marlborough College and the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, Stevens arrived in Christchurch in 1858 and by 1862 was in partnership as a land and commission agent with R.J.S. Harman - a founding member of the Christchurch Cricket Club. With J.H. Bennett, Stevens was largely responsible for financing the visit of the All England XI to Canterbury. He was a central figure in the formation of the Canterbury Cricket Association in 1877, and, with A.M. Ollivier, initiated the purchase of Lancaster Park. A founder delegate to the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1894, Stevens represented the interests of various provincial associations during its first two decades. MPC 1863-66, MHR for Selwyn and Christchurch 1866-71, 1875-81 and MLC 1882-1915, he was also President of the Christchurch Club 1877-1910 and the Canterbury Rowing Club. He left an estate valued at £290,000.⁵¹

Sale, born and educated at Rugby where his father was a writing master, gained a Cambridge MA in 1857 and spent

⁵¹. DNZB, Vol.1, pp.407-8.



E.C.J. Stevens (1837-1915). Although he played for Canterbury as a batsman, Stevens' greater contribution to cricket was as an administrator. He initiated the formation of the Canterbury Cricket Association in 1877 and represented numerous provinces as a delegate to the New Zealand Cricket Council from 1894 until his death. (Canterbury Museum: Ref.2433)



George Sale (1829-1922). Cambridge educated, Sale was variously a sheepfarmer, journalist, goldminer, Canterbury Provincial Treasurer, Westland Goldfields' Commissioner and Professor of English and Classics at the University of Otago, 1871-1908. He played cricket for Canterbury and was instrumental in founding the Otago University Cricket Club. (Canterbury Museum: Ref.6527)

three years as a lecturer and Fellow of Trinity College. Coming to New Zealand in 1861 for health reasons, he briefly managed Lake Coleridge station before serving as founding editor of *The Press*. After a period on the goldfields, he became Canterbury Provincial Treasurer in 1864 and Westland Goldfields Commissioner, 1865-69. Sale's greatest contribution was as founding professor of Classics, 1870-1908, and English, 1870-77, at the University of Otago. He played a major role in introducing the Rugby game to Dunedin in 1871, and the University Cricket Club also began under his tutelage.⁵²

Others with public school connections were Lance, Tennant, Wills and possibly Wilson. Little is known of the later aside from a rumour that he had some university education. He was a Rangiora storekeeper 1858-65.⁵³ Henry Porcher Lance (1830-86) was a highly successful amateur jockey in England and New Zealand. A runholder and leading thoroughbred horse breeder he supplied regular winners for the Canterbury Cup and Derby 1862-5. He was MPC 1862-5.⁵⁴ Augustus Tennant, perhaps the best cricketer in Canterbury at this time, was an ex Rugbean and friend of George Sale who worked with him at Lake Coleridge. He later served as a clerk in the Government Stamp Office at Hokitika, before succumbing to drink and being arrested for embezzlement.⁵⁵

The position in the Canterbury team of Thomas Wentworth Wills (1835-80) was more or less at the behest of the All England XI promoters who sought to strengthen their

⁵². Ibid, Vol.2, pp.438-9.

⁵³. Hawkins, op. cit. pp.99-100.

⁵⁴. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, p.480.

⁵⁵. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

opposition. Victorian born, Wills was dux of Rugby and captain of the XI, and played for Cambridge University, Kent, United Ireland, the Melbourne Cricket Club and Victoria. One of the leading innovators in the first phase of Australian Rules Football during the early 1860s, he later assisted the Aboriginal cricket team with preparations for its 1868 tour of England. After the massacre of most of his family by Queensland Aborigines in 1861, Will's gradually fell victim to alcoholism and eventually committed suicide.⁵⁶

The Canterbury XXII contained several other prosperous businessmen. Joseph Henry Bennett (? - 1879), the major financier of the All England XI visit to Canterbury, was an accountant, auctioneer, stock and station agent who owned several hotels..⁵⁷ Augustus Blakiston (1829-1910) found success as a commission agent and merchant. Provincial Secretary in 1864, he was also extensively involved with the Canterbury Racing Club, Canterbury Rowing Club and Canterbury Volunteers.⁵⁸ William Hill Dawe (1835-1912), educated at Sherbourne School, Dorsetshire, was originally a station cadet for W.G. Brittan before achieving prosperity in the same field as Bennett and Blakiston.⁵⁹

Although Knyvett and Parkerson are difficult to pinpoint individually, both were members of successful runholding families. The Knyvett brothers, active in country cricket teams during the 1860s, variously managed, rented and owned

⁵⁶. G. Blainey, *A Game of Our Own: The Origins of Australian Football*, Melbourne, 1990, pp.10-12,96-7; W. Vamplew, et al, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Sport*, Melbourne, 1992, p.381.

⁵⁷. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

⁵⁸. Ibid.

⁵⁹. CNZ, Vol.3, p.391.

property in the Rakaia district.⁶⁰ In 1864 the Parkersons' purchased a number of stations, including Mesopotamia from Samuel Butler. They were still active in large property transactions in the early 1880s.⁶¹ The Powys brothers, farmers in the Selwyn area, were prosperous enough to import a steam powered plough and traction engine. They returned to England in 1868. Thomas Moore was a Christ's College Old Boy.⁶²

The remaining three members of the team who can be traced, George Dickenson, John Wise Stevens and George Turner, were all talented cricketers but of more humble origin than the majority of their counterparts. Dickenson and Turner had both played for the Working Men's XI against the Christchurch Cricket Club in 1851. The former was a dairy farmer, member of various local road boards and committees and founding member of the Canterbury Rifle Volunteers.⁶³ Turner, a clerk to the Provincial Secretary and in the Public Works Office, was also a talented artist who made reasonable money from his paintings of Christchurch.⁶⁴ Stevens, a farm labourer from Shropshire, styled himself as a professional cricketer in Canterbury - bowling to members of the Canterbury Cricket Club. Nothing is known of his career thereafter.⁶⁵

Signs in the selection of the Canterbury XXII that the

60. Acland, *op. cit.* pp.52, 100, 102-3.

61. *Ibid.* pp.162, 285; *CNZ: Vol.3*, pp.864, 897; Pinney, *Op. cit.* pp.224-5.

62. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

base of local cricket was beginning to broaden must be treated as a subtle rather than dramatic shift. Certainly Dickenson and John Stevens were able to command regular places in the Canterbury team during the mid 1860s. But the hub of the provincial XI continued to revolve around E.C.J. Stevens, the Powys brothers and other members of the Canterbury Cricket Club - to be joined at the end of the decade by the first players of two Canterbury cricketing dynasties, the Cotterills' and Olliviers'. The five Cotterill brothers who played first-class cricket were all Christs' College educated. Two were barristers and solicitors, two bank managers and one a senior manager for the New Zealand Shipping Company. Three sons of A.J. Cotterill also played first-class cricket. Numerous Ollivier brothers appeared in Christchurch club cricket with A.M. Ollivier (accountant) and F.M. Ollivier (barrister and solicitor) representing the province. Both were prominent administrators. K.M. Ollivier, son of A.M., represented Canterbury from the 1890s.⁶⁶

The amalgamation of the Christchurch and Canterbury clubs, as the United Canterbury Cricket Club (UCCC), in February 1866, produced a body equal to the social standing of its 1850s predecessor. In keeping with the practise of Wellington and Dunedin, the presidency of the club was willingly accepted by the Provincial Superintendent - in this case William Sefton Moorhouse. The Vice President was William Barbour Wilson (1819-97), a leading nurseryman, horticulturalist and landowner. MPC 1864-70, chairman of the

⁶⁶. Ibid.

City Council in 1867, he was first Mayor of Christchurch the following year.⁶⁷ The Club committee consisted of A.F.N. Blakiston, J.H. Bennett, A.J. Cotterill, E.S. Harley, C.M. and F.M. Ollivier, A.R. Powys and E.C.J. Stevens.⁶⁸ Edward Harley was an accountant who held various company management positions in Christchurch. He was extensively involved in church affairs and the A&P Association.⁶⁹

By mid 1867 the Club had spent in excess of £150 to establish a fenced ground in Hagley Park with an artesian well and other facilities. To cover costs, its subscription was set at £2 and the committee threatened to publish the names of unpaid members. Later they suggested that as a club representing the interests of the whole province, they would welcome contributions from the cricketers of Lyttelton and Hokitika. These were not forthcoming, and the club was £80 in debt by the end of 1868.⁷⁰ Challenges had been accepted from the leading clubs of Dunedin, Timaru, Hokitika and Wellington - although none of these came to fruition.⁷¹ However, at least two matches were played at Rakaia against teams from the Ashburton district.⁷²

It is clear that the reference point of the UCCC was not merely to exert a superiority in its own environment, but to adhere to a more abstract sporting ideal. In reality the facilities and finances of the Club were far more secure than

67. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.603-4.

68. *The Press*, 23 February 1866, p.2.

69. Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

70. UCCC, Annual Report, 1866, 1868.

71. *The Press*, 1 September 1866, p.2; 24 September 1866, p.2; 20 May 1867, p.2.

72. *Ibid*, 2 November 1867, p.2.

those of any provincial counterpart. It was generally debt free, it had an excellent ground and its matches were usually well patronised. Yet there was a prevailing pessimism over the state of Christchurch cricket. "Dumb Bell", contributing to a heated debate in *The Press* on "manly exercise" in August 1867, criticised the public for giving the UCCC only "one tenth" of the financial and spectator support it deserved. Nor were inter-provincial matches patronised as well as they ought to have been in comparison with Dunedin.⁷³ The problem was, in part, a lack of competition to raise standards and stimulate public interest. From 1864-67 there was no other consistently active club within Christchurch, and country teams such as Ashburton and Prebbleton were equally sporadic. Moreover Canterbury had not experienced the influx of new players seen in Otago during the peak gold era.⁷⁴

The revival of Albion at the end of 1867 solved some of the perceived problems, whilst demonstrating that others were clearly of the UCCC's own making. While the older club welcomed a new opponent, it did not make Albion's survival particularly easy. Relations between the two clubs were variable. The first point of tension came in 1867 over the matter of selecting provincial teams. From 1863-4 this task had been assumed by the UCCC. But an innings loss to Otago in February 1867 prompted the Club to announce that henceforth the provincial selection committee should be determined at a public meeting.⁷⁵ But such damage control came too late.

⁷³. Ibid, 1 August 1867, p.2.

⁷⁴. Ibid, 15 February 1868, p.3.

⁷⁵. *The Press*, 20 May 1867, p.2.

Although Albion did not play during 1866-7 due to the lack of a ground, a letter to *The Press* from "Stumps" implied that the loss to Otago was in large part due to petty jealousy. The UCCC selectors had invited Albion players to attend practices for the inter-provincial match, but they had not done so. Further, they were guilty of cricketing "martyrdom" for their failure to assist with preparing Hagley Park for the match.⁷⁶ In reply, "Bat" insisted that Albion players had never been asked to attend practices and had not been considered for selection.⁷⁷

That this dispute was perceived as a conflict of class is evident in the tone of "Stumps" first letter.

Cricket is one of those games which ought to generate a sought of freemasonry among all those who take part in the game, no matter be they rich or poor, professional men or mechanics, as long as they conduct themselves in a respectable manner all differences of position should be thrown off with the ordinary everyday costume, and when the flannels are put on everyone should be equal, all striving to excel each other in the game.⁷⁸

Such a pronouncement usually comes from the disadvantaged rather than the advantaged. Indeed "Stumps" determination to portray the UCCC as anything but exclusive has its problems. Certainly the Club was willing to rent part of its Hagley Park ground for practice and matches. However, the rent charged to Albion in 1868-9 was £25 for the season as against £5 paid by Christ's College - a body with a much sounder financial base. Although the UCCC reduced the rent to £20 during the 1869-70 season, they reserved for themselves all use of the pavilion.⁷⁹

In this context, it is revealing that the UCCC record as a proselytising agent pales in comparison to that of Albion.

⁷⁶. Ibid, 20 August 1867, p.2; 26 August 1867, p.2.

⁷⁷. Ibid, 23 August 1867, p.2.

⁷⁸. Ibid, 20 August 1867, p.2.

⁷⁹. Ibid, 24 September 1867, p.2; 15 September 1868, p.3; 7 September 1869, p.2; UCCC, Annual Report, 1869.

During the 1860s the weaker club arranged matches against Avonside, Ellesmere, Heathcote, a combined Lincoln, Prebbleton and Templeton team (twice), Rangiora, St Albans and the Victoria Cricket Club.⁸⁰ By contrast most of the UCCC matches, aside from one against a UCCC dominated Heathcote district team in December 1866, were internal or scratch matches involving Christ's College players.⁸¹ Even allowing that the UCCC was too strong to make matches against other clubs especially worthwhile, their position can not be called anything other than insular.

The final demise of Albion after the 1868-9 season is most likely attributable to ground-problems. Latimer Square was certainly too small for proper games, and the rent arrangement for Hagley Park appears costly and inadequate. But the UCCC remained as sole senior club for only one season, and the Midland Canterbury Cricket Club which replaced Albion in September 1870 marks the first realistic challenge to its monopoly. According to its founders, the MCCC was not based on any animosity to the established club. Rather there was desperate need for a competitive rivalry within Christchurch cricket. With a subscription set at one guinea by 1872, the Club remained more accessible than the UCCC at £2.⁸² But for the first time the second club in Christchurch was able to draw on the support of recognised public figures, and in consequence began to attract talented cricketers.

⁸⁰ *The Press*, 21 November 1867, p.2; 29 November 1867, p.2; 9 December 1868, p.2.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 13 December 1866, p.2.

⁸² *Ibid*, 23 September 1872, p.2.

The first President was Alfred Cox (1825-1911), an Australian born runholder and land speculator who accumulated a solid fortune. He was MPC 1862-5, 1870-1 and MHR 1863-9, 1876-8.⁸³ Cox's involvement with the Club was limited in that he had shifted to the Waikato by the mid 1870s. But the mark of respectability he gave it at the beginning ought not to be underestimated. The first Vice President, and later President, W.H. Wynn Williams (1828-1913), gave long service. A lawyer and sometime Provincial Solicitor, he was MPC 1865-76 and MHR 1881-4.⁸⁴ Among the committee were C.E. Briggs, a company manager for *The Press* and *Lyttelton Times*, George Turner and Edward Harley - both noted already - who switched allegiance from the UCCC. Among other players who now joined the club were at least two of the Ollivier brothers, and Edwin Fowler, a Victorian born draper who was consistently the best batsman in Canterbury from 1868 until his retirement in 1882.⁸⁵

Beyond the UCCC and Albion there are sporadic references to at least six minor clubs in Christchurch during the late 1860s - Albert, Challenge, Cramner, Union, Victoria and Woolston.⁸⁶ Of these, Woolston survived for at least three seasons, reviving again in 1877. It set a subscription of half a guinea - working members to pay sixpence weekly.⁸⁷ Teams from Lyttelton and Mt Herbert played a series of matches in

⁸³. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, pp.179-80.

⁸⁴. CNZ, Vol.3, p.96.

⁸⁵. *The Press*, 2 October 1867, p.2; 22 September 1870, p.2; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary.

⁸⁶. *The Press*, 26 November 1866, p.2; 11 November 1867, p.2; 2 April 1868, p.2; 2 October 1869, p.2; 28 October 1870, p.2.

⁸⁷. Ibid, 28 October 1870, p.2; 26 October 1872, p.3.

1867-8⁸⁸ and there were an interesting range of intra-club and scratch matches - "Public Schools & Christ's College XI" against "The World", "Tall" against "Short" (a 5ft 9" division), and a match between those learning their cricket in England and those learning in the colonies - won easily by the latter.⁸⁹ By 1870 there were also a variety of trade matches - between butchers and bakers, painters and plasterers, carpenters and joiners. A number of these games were played on week nights after work.⁹⁰

Cricketers were also active in the districts close to Christchurch. There were regular matches between Lincoln, Prebbleton and Templeton teams, and in September 1868 the three combined to form the United Lincoln Cricket Club. A local publican allowed the Club five acres to develop a ground.⁹¹ Kaiapoi played Oxford in 1868, Lincoln played Mt Herbert at Hagley Park in 1869 and Little Akaloa played Okains Bay in 1870.⁹²

The progress of Canterbury cricket had not been entirely relentless. But the lapse during 1857-58 was as nothing compared to the problems in other centres. From the Christchurch Cricket Club to the United Canterbury Cricket Club there was an almost continuous link stretching over two decades. Its longevity is unique among New Zealand cricket clubs of the period. Moreover, the collective influence of club

⁸⁸. Ibid, 2 December 1867, p.2; 27 January 1868, p.2.

⁸⁹. Ibid, 1 January 1868, p.2; 14 March 1870, p.2.

⁹⁰. Ibid, 31 March 1866, p.2; P. Norris, "A Social Portrait of Canterbury in 1870", MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1963, pp.77-8.

⁹¹. *The Press*, 13 December 1867, p.2; 10 September 1868, p.2.

⁹². Ibid, 3 December 1867, p.2; 24 November 1868, p.2; 18 November 1869, p.2; 28 April 1870, p.2.

members enabled a high standard of facilities and organisation. The MCCC, which lasted beyond the introduction of a district cricket scheme to Christchurch in 1905, is comparable, albeit on a slightly lesser level, with the development of the United Wellington Cricket Club and the Basin Reserve in 1868. In both cases a predominantly blue-collar club had struggled throughout the 1860s without sufficient finance or influence to secure facilities. Both were revived by the injection of publicly respectable administrators and talented players - Borlase, Marchant and others in Wellington, Cox, Wynn Williams, Harley and Fowler in Canterbury.

Because it had been established with much greater Wakefieldian deliberation, Canterbury cricket was considerably more advanced than that in any other part of New Zealand by the early 1870s. There were two well established senior clubs, several minor ones and an active country cricket fraternity. The links with public school old boys and provincial administrative patronage were strong, and Christ's College was beginning to produce a new generation. From this base, it is not surprising that Canterbury was at the centre of much of the expansion and innovation in New Zealand cricket during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1914 Canterbury had played more interprovincial and international matches than any of its counterparts and held an effective monopoly over the workings of the Christchurch based New Zealand Cricket Council.

SECTION II

FORMALISATION AND CONTINUITY

Section I has examined the links between diverse colonisation patterns and the equally diverse social structure of New Zealand cricket prior to 1870. There is no doubt that Wakefieldian ideals provide the touchstone which determined both the primacy of Canterbury cricket and middle-class domination generally. Moreover, the structures set in place during the first three decades of New Zealand settlement established a crucial foundation and pattern for that which followed. Control of New Zealand cricket, both on the field and off, would remain the firm preserve of the middle-class.

Yet the three decades after 1870 were marked by great change. They encompassed the first inter-provincial matches, the first international touring teams, the formation of provincial cricket associations, regulated local competitions, the establishment of cricket in the schools and the formation of the New Zealand Cricket Council. By the time the Council held its inaugural meeting in Christchurch on 27 December 1894, the once isolated cricket centres of New Zealand had begun to forge a basic uniformity - if not unity. From 1894 it becomes somewhat easier to talk of "New Zealand cricket" and less of a distinct version for each province. The nature and means of this transition, and its relationship to the pattern outlined in Section I, lies at the heart of the following six

chapters.

The process of change between 1870 and 1914 was far from smooth. As the population of New Zealand's main centres expanded dramatically, giving rise to a larger number and variety of cricket clubs, clear patterns of participation emerged based on social class. It is not sufficient to merely identify the different elements. The way in which they interacted is, if anything, more important. For it is popularly held that sport, especially Australian cricket and New Zealand rugby, has been a vital force in cutting across class barriers and removing all social distinctions. Participants are apparently judged not on origin but on ability. The reality, however, is somewhat different. Chapter Six, while examining the cricketing structures of Auckland and Wellington, offers some explanations for the predominance of white-collar cricket to the detriment of its blue-collar counterpart. Were the hierarchies, embodied in the provincial cricket associations, deliberately exclusive? Or is the low level and somewhat peripheral nature of blue-collar participation better understood as the inevitable adjunct of a wider social structure in which income and working conditions placed a premium on leisure opportunities? Chapter Seven, tracing the pattern of cricket in Christchurch and Dunedin, examines in more detail the two most obvious class conflicts in New Zealand cricket. In Dunedin during the 1880s there were frequent and acrimonious exchanges over access to playing areas and facilities. The Otago Cricket Association was forced to make substantial changes to both its attitudes and constitution. But such democratisation only served the wider

cricketing community in the narrowest terms. Similarly, the dispute in Christchurch during 1905 and 1907 produced more of a realignment within the existing cricket structure, than a wholesale broadening of participation. The antagonism between the Canterbury Cricket Association and Christchurch's elite clubs serves more than anything as a testimony that class consciousness was never far below the surface of the New Zealand game.

Chapters Eight and Nine confirm the nature of middle class primacy. Chapter Eight, dealing with case studies of cricket outside the four main centres, stresses the vital role played by local elites in forming clubs and local associations. Of particular significance in many instances were English public school old boys who, like their main centre counterparts, saw cricket as a means to secure continuity within and between isolated communities. Chapter Nine pursues this theme in terms of the replication of English cricketing forms and values within the New Zealand school system. Among those schools which subscribed to an English public school model, and among the primary schools beyond which the majority of the population did not proceed, there was a quite deliberate use of cricket and sport generally to promote broader educational ideals such as discipline and conformity.

Chapters Ten and Eleven examine the development of an inter-provincial and, later, national structure within New Zealand cricket. At one level there was expansion and increasing continuity in which previously isolated cricketing provinces came more frequently into contact and eventually

established the New Zealand Cricket Council as a central administrative body. In this context it was frequently held that the example set by cricket was a critical stimulus to the search for unity within New Zealand society as a whole. But the reality which undermined provincial cricket and the ambitions of the New Zealand Cricket Council was that the game was not economically viable. A combination of government policy, demography and substandard play ensured that the survival of cricket depended in part on charity and activities totally unrelated to the game. The period of cricket's greatest expansion was also the period of its greatest decline relative to other sports - and to rugby in particular. That it survived at all is, in large part, testimony to a powerful Victorian world view which constantly idealised the social and cultural values of the game.

In one regard, the following chapters establish an exclusive circle. There can be no question that New Zealand cricket became dominated by a middle class coterie which was insulated by the prevailing socio-economic structure and perpetuated through the elite school system. Once it is established that even this group struggled to foster a coherent and unified game, ideas of working class participation at representative level retreat even further. The situation in Otago throughout the 1880s, and the emphasis placed on interprovincial and international cricket, suggests that constriction and retrenchment in New Zealand cricket worked from the bottom upwards. The most visible, and most expensive, institutions at the top remained relatively unchanged during the fifty years prior to 1914.

CHAPTER SIX
FASHIONING A WHITE COLLAR GAME
CRICKET AND CLASS IN AUCKLAND AND WELLINGTON
1870-1914

Cricketing demography was inextricably bound to the dramatic social and economic transformation of New Zealand society from the 1870s to 1914. The population of the four main centres almost quadrupled during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, while the industrial workforce increased more than sixfold. Combined with depression during the 1880s which sharpened existing disparities of income, lifestyle and opportunity, there emerged a much stronger sense of class (and especially working class) identity.¹ Urbanisation inevitably produced much greater scope for consideration of who would play cricket with whom. Where small colonial settlements sustained one or two struggling clubs in 1860, the developing cities of 1900 each boasted perhaps forty teams in a variety of different competitions with their own customs and priorities. It is therefore critical to examine the composition and interaction of the new clubs and the distinctions between them, exploring the extent to which they might be termed "white-collar", "blue-collar" or

¹ E. Olssen, "Social Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand", in D. Pitt, ed, *Social Class in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1977, p.34.

"open". By placing the origins and character of the clubs within the historical geography of the four main centres - Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin - it is possible to draw some conclusions as to whether New Zealand cricket altered in accordance with broader social change or remained insulated within the elite domination which characterised the game during the late 1860s.

It is important to understand the nature and extent of working class participation in New Zealand cricket, and especially participation by the unskilled worker. On the one hand, new clubs and competitions blossomed and there is ample evidence of growth in blue-collar cricket from the early 1890s. But there are clear limits to this participation. At senior club, provincial and national level, described here as "representative cricket", the power of many established clubs lingered well into the twentieth century. Blue-collar cricket tended to be confined to a narrow grouping of skilled and semi-skilled workers or to mid-week suburban and league competitions which operated largely beyond the influence of the major cricket associations. Was participation in representative cricket therefore restricted by factors intrinsic to one's position within society? Or was the stratification a more deliberate exercise maintained by the cricketing elite? And what were the causes and nature of change when it finally occurred? Moreover, why were there distinct variations in this process between the North and South Islands? Auckland and Wellington experienced no discernible hostility between cricketers of different social origin. In both cases, the dismantling of the established clubs

in favour of District Cricket schemes during the first decade of the twentieth century proceeded with a sense that the change was for the greater good of the game. The South Island was rather different. Dunedin witnessed several hostile, class based, disputes during the 1880s and did not follow its counterparts into District Cricket. In Christchurch it was the established elite of the UCCC who resisted change from below after the introduction of the District scheme in 1905.

Of the four main centres, Auckland cricket, relatively speaking, made the greatest progress after 1880. Although geographical isolation determined that the activities of the provincial team lagged behind its counterparts,² the scope and standard of local cricket expanded dramatically on the back of urban and industrial growth. Auckland's population increased steadily from 27,686 in 1881 to 39,177 in 1891. Thereafter it was the most rapidly expanding city in New Zealand with a population of 67,226 in 1901 and 102,676 in 1911.³ In terms of industrial growth and the size of its industrial workforce, it was second only to Christchurch during the 1890s.⁴ As the boundaries of the city moved outwards, the pool of potential cricketers expanded and new clubs proliferated. From nine clubs with twelve teams in 1895-96, the Auckland Cricket Association (ACA) was administering eighteen clubs and 39 teams by 1902-03.⁵

2. See Table 10.2.

3. E. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", in G.W. Rice, ed, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, (2nd ed.), Auckland, 1992, p.256; "Social Class", p.34.

4. R.W. Armstrong, "Auckland by Gaslight: An Urban Geography of 1896", *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol.15, No.2, 1959, p. 182.

5. *100 Not Out: A Centennial History of the Auckland Cricket Association*, Auckland, 1983, p.111.

In coping with this expansion, the ACA was greatly assisted by the development of several good quality grounds. The Auckland City Council took control of the two hundred acre Auckland Domain in 1884 and, despite a constant shortage of funds, carried out major development of the area during the 1890s. By 1899 the Domain was able to cater for as many as sixteen matches on a Saturday afternoon.⁶ By 1908 grounds had also been established at Albert Park, at Victoria Park - on reclaimed land in Freeman's Bay, at Eden Park and at the Devonport Domain on the North Shore.⁷ With enough facilities to accommodate those wishing to play cricket, Auckland remained immune from the sort of acrimony which developed in Dunedin during the 1880s when many of the smaller clubs were driven to extinction in the struggle for scarce resources.

But tracing the relationship between cricket and the wider social structure of Auckland is by no means straightforward. Correlations between the occupational survey of cricket clubs and the localities they purported to represent are somewhat tentative. Three of Auckland's strongest clubs during the 1880s and '90s, Auckland, Gordon and United,⁸ can not be identified with any specific geographical area. Parnell, another of the consistently strong senior clubs, was based on a residential area which included pockets of upper-, middle- and working-class housing.⁹ Similarly, Ponsonby, the most

⁶ Ibid; G.W.A. Bush, *Decently and in Order: The Government of the City of Auckland, 1840-1971*, Auckland, 1971, pp.168-9.

⁷ *100 Not Out*, p.111; Bush, op. cit., p.170.

⁸ United eventually evolved into Grafton United - a club still functioning in the 1990s. But there is no firm evidence to link United with the wealthy suburb of Grafton during the 1880s.

⁹ Armstrong, op. cit., pp.184-5.

distinctly blue-collar senior club, does not fit conveniently within the middle-class character of the Ponsonby area during the 1890s. In all probability, it was derived more from the neighbouring working-class and industrial area of Freeman's Bay.¹⁰

Despite these geographical ambiguities, it can safely be said that there was only a loose social hierarchy within Auckland cricket. No single club was able to claim absolute precedence or a controlling authority for more than a few years. Unlike Christchurch and Dunedin, which maintained a fairly clear order of precedence among their senior clubs, the composition of the Auckland senior competition changed several times between 1880 and 1900.

In part, this flexibility can be traced to the relative lack of hierarchy and elite patronage during preceding decades. Although United dominated for periods during the 1860s, and the Auckland CC during the early 1870s, neither attracted public support and influential guidance to the extent enjoyed by the United Canterbury CC or the leading clubs of Dunedin and Wellington. This reflects both the absence of systematic Wakefieldian settlement and its associated ideals, and the nature of the Auckland commercial elite which emerged in its place. Russell Stone points out that most were derived from the English lower middle-class and typically comparatively young men when they began to establish their careers in New Zealand. The case of James Williamson was not untypical. After starting life as a ship's mate "who laid the foundations

¹⁰. Ibid.

of his fortune in a grog-shop on the beach at Kororarereka",¹¹ he rose to the presidency of the Bank of New Zealand and the New Zealand Insurance Company. Success and status in Auckland society came to depend less on professional standing than on judicious investment.¹² It is safe to say that these men lacked the strong public school and Oxbridge tradition which sustained cricket in other centres. Indeed, there is a much lower instance of elite participation in the administration of Auckland clubs and the ACA during the nineteenth century.

For those members of the Auckland elite who did become involved with cricket, it is not unreasonable to apply the argument used by Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard when describing the more diverse class composition of rugby in the North of England. They suggest that although many men were accumulating sufficient fortunes to be considered part of the upper middle-class from which sports administrators were commonly drawn, they initially lacked the traditional respectability of "gentlemen". Thus, they were more easily able to maintain links with the wider community and their class of origin and to incorporate working people within their clubs.¹³ In similar vein, one might argue that the class origins of many among the Auckland cricketing elite more readily disposed them towards clubs and competitions which involved players from a wider social spectrum than that encouraged by Wakefieldian gentlemen in other parts of New Zealand.

11. R.C.J. Stone, *Makers of Fortune: A Colonial Business Community and its Fall*, Auckland, 1973, pp.41-2.

12. Ibid.

13. E. Dunning & K. Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football*, Canberra, 1979, pp.141-2.

In 1880 there were five active senior clubs in Auckland - Auckland, Epsom, Otahuhu, Parnell and West End.¹⁴ Auckland and Epsom were the most occupationally elite; indeed, they shared a number of members in common. Among Auckland's leading players were a surgeon, a gentleman, a solicitor and a teacher. Also included was George Lankham, a saddler, who was one of the most dedicated servants of Auckland cricket administration for many decades. Epsom, based on a peripheral Auckland village which had become a semi-rural bastion of the commercial elite, contained three solicitors, a journalist, a publican and a farmer. But, with the partial exception of Samuel Hesketh, a successful lawyer, neither Auckland nor Epsom contained any men who played a significant role in the public affairs of Auckland.

Otahuhu, Parnell and West End were composed mostly of skilled tradesmen and small businessmen. Of Otahuhu, little can be determined. Parnell, the most distinct blue-collar club based in one of the oldest residential suburbs of Auckland, included two cabinetmakers, a blacksmith, bootmaker, carpenter, clerk, tailor and warehouseman in its 1879-80 senior team. Marginally more elevated in its social composition, West End included three merchants, two storekeepers, a clerk, draper and printer.

Only Auckland and Parnell were still functioning in 1890. Neither had changed its composition to any great degree. Parnell was composed of skilled tradesmen, and Auckland

¹⁴. Occupational survey. Auckland: 1879-80, 55 players, 5 clubs, 35 traced, 63.6%.

included two doctors, two law clerks, a town clerk and an accountant. Most of the latter group were also part of an Auckland Casuals club which played regularly against senior teams. Other clubs were Alpha, a workingmen's club of which almost nothing can be traced, Gordon and United - now the leading clubs of Auckland. The former was dominated by solicitors, but also included a carpenter and a warehouseman - both leading players. United included a solicitor and a land agent, but its leading figures were two grocers, a bootmaker and a cabinetmaker.¹⁵

During the 1890s there was little significant change in the hierarchy of Auckland cricket. Auckland Casuals and Alpha disappeared, but Auckland CC, Gordon, Parnell and United remained largely unchanged in their composition. Of the two new senior clubs, North Shore and Ponsonby, the former contained a solicitor, several clerks and a bricklayer among its 1900 Senior team, while the later was more distinctly skilled and semi-skilled blue-collar. It included engineering staff, an iron moulder, painter and plumber.¹⁶

Although there were obvious social distinctions in the composition of the clubs, it does not appear that these were rigidly maintained or that they were any indicator of greater or lesser influence or durability within Auckland cricket. Of the two clubs which held their senior status throughout the period 1880 to 1900, one, Auckland, was predominantly white-collar, the other, Parnell, was predominantly blue-collar. The

¹⁵. Occupational survey. Auckland: 1889-90, 77 players, 6 clubs, 48 traced, 62.3%.

¹⁶. Occupational survey. Auckland: 1899-1900, 73 players, 6 clubs, 45 traced, 61.6%.

selection of Auckland representative teams also points more towards a meritocracy than a hierarchy. Along with solicitors, such as H.B. and R.B. Lusk, H.P. Kissling and A.E. O'Brien, the most regular players during the 1880s were William Stemson (cabinetmaker), John Fowke (foreman) and D. Lynch (labourer). During the years 1897-1902, the majority of players were drawn from the low white-collar/skilled blue-collar Gordon, Parnell and United clubs, with very few players from the white-collar Auckland CC or blue-collar Ponsonby.¹⁷

The "democratic" character of Auckland club cricket also reveals itself in the formation and workings of the Auckland Cricket Association. With almost no members possessing influence within the public affairs of Auckland during the 1870s, the clubs initially lacked the driving force necessary to form any sort of cricket association. Several false starts were made, the most promising of which stemmed from Auckland's landmark tour through New Zealand in 1873-74. At a meeting to organise the tour, Auckland's first since 1860, it was also proposed that an association be formed to unify the increasing number of clubs, organise matches between them and administer grounds. Although the tour was a success and did a great deal to stimulate interest in cricket throughout New Zealand, proposals for an Auckland association lapsed.¹⁸ Further endeavours by the Auckland CC in October 1879, and by Auckland, Civil Service, Otahuhu and West End in September

17. Team composition derived from Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*. passim, and occupational survey.

18. *Auckland Cricketers Trip to the South*, p.57.

1881, also ended in failure.¹⁹

When the Auckland Cricket Association was finally established at a meeting on 20 October 1883, it was one of the most representative in the country. Power was vested in delegates from affiliated clubs, rather than a small central committee.²⁰ The Governor, Sir William Jervois was Patron, with the Presidency occupied by James McCosh Clark, prominent businessman and former Mayor of Auckland.²¹

In 1890 the ACA was still exhibiting democratic tendencies. Although its President was C.F. Bourne, Headmaster of Auckland Grammar School, and its Vice Presidents included a solicitor, a bank manager and J.H. Upton, a leading businessman and former Mayor, the more active management committee consisted of a clerk, a cutter, a foreman, a ship chandler, a solicitor and a secretary. Of this group, the most influential as an administrator was John Fowke (1859-1938), a shoe factory foreman, who later enjoyed long service with the Canterbury Cricket Association.²²

From 1900 the ACA began to show certain, but not dramatic, signs of elite patronage. After the ten year Presidency of James Russell, a leading Auckland solicitor, and a single term from another solicitor, A.E. Whitaker, the office was occupied from 1903-45 by Frederick Earl KC (1857-1945). Among his committee were solicitors such as E.C. Beale and R.B. Lusk, Herbert Detman, Professor of Classics at the

¹⁹. *100 Not Out*, p.13.

²⁰. *New Zealand Herald*, 22 October 1883, p.6.

²¹. ACA, Annual Report, 1885; *DNZB*, Vol. 2, pp.87-8.

²². Occupational details derived from occupational survey as above.

University of Auckland, and George Bayly, a wealthy Taranaki landowner. Others included an insurance company manager, at least two company secretaries and a teacher. Also included was W.T. Wynyard, a Maori, who was a public servant with the Department of Agriculture. He represented Auckland and Wellington at athletics, cricket and rugby, toured Britain with the 1888 New Zealand Native Football team and Australia with the 1893 New Zealand rugby team.²³

Yet it was this more prestigious ACA committee which removed any lingering elitism in club cricket by instituting a District Cricket scheme during the 1903-04 season. Drawing on developments in Sydney and Melbourne club cricket during the 1890s, the scheme created a competition in which club membership was determined by residence within local body electoral boundaries, and not by player preference. The objective was to increase the competitiveness of local competition by equalising the strength of the clubs. But as much as anything, the scheme reflected the expansion and distribution of Auckland's population compared with the central city concentration evident two decades earlier.

District Cricket did not automatically lead to the dismantling of existing clubs. Rather this tended to happen by default as the ACA no longer made any provision for them to play Saturday cricket. The 1904 ACA Annual Report referred to the new competition as "an unqualified success", with 498 registered players in six clubs - City, Eden, Grafton, North

²³ R.H. Chester & N.A.C. McMillan, *The Encyclopedia of New Zealand Rugby*, Auckland, 1980, p.222.

Shore, Parnell and Ponsonby.²⁴

Auckland remained the most geographically isolated of the main cricketing centres and its provincial team played far fewer matches than their counterparts. But population growth, broadminded administration and ease of access to facilities contributed to Auckland's emergence as the strongest provincial team during the early years of the twentieth century. It enjoyed a record tenure of the interprovincial Plunket Shield and performed creditably against various touring teams.²⁵

In some respects, Wellington cricket was the antithesis of that in Auckland. The advantages that each enjoyed were precisely those which were missing in the other. From the outset the Wellington Cricket Association (WCA) was blessed with rather more influential patronage than had been attracted by the ACA during its formative years. Wellington's central location also assisted in the volume of interprovincial cricket it was able to play during the 1880s and '90s. But against this, the city of Wellington was starved of playing spaces which could adequately accommodate the growth of teams and competitions. From its efforts to develop grounds, the WCA was in constant financial peril and the fortunes of the provincial team entered a significant decline prior to 1914. Moreover, the WCA appears to have approached its task with considerably more conservatism than was the case in Auckland.

²⁴. ACA, Annual Report, 1904.

²⁵. See Payne & Smith, *op. cit.*, p.280.

Cricket benefited greatly when the capital was moved from Auckland to Wellington in 1865. This injection of influential public figures and civil servants brought much needed guidance and a desire for formalisation - not least in the consolidation of the United Wellington Cricket Club after 1868. Moreover, the government and civil service influence ensured that the focus of Wellington cricket and of the Wellington Cricket Association (WCA) was geared towards the wealthier white-collar clubs of the inner city.

But Nigel Beckford's examination of working-class participation in Wellington club cricket traces a gradual increase in blue-collar numbers from 1878 to 1940, but a continuation of white-collar administrative control. Dramatic population increase during the 1890s, especially in the outer industrial suburbs of Petone and the Hutt Valley, contributed to the emergence of a number of new blue-collar clubs. After 1900 the strength of many of these clubs forced the WCA to significantly reassess the basis for participation in its senior competition - and ultimately to adopt a District Cricket scheme in 1909-10.²⁶

From the beginning the administration of Wellington cricket was firmly in the hands of the inner city establishment. A letter to the *Wellington Independent* on 30 November 1867 urged that Wellington should follow developments in Australia and put its cricket on a more permanent footing - especially to assist the organisation of return matches against Marlborough and Nelson.

²⁶. Beckford, op. cit., pp.3-5,8,15,30.

It is no less strange than true, that while nearly every village in the mother country can boast of its cricket club, that here in Wellington there should exist such lukewarmness and apathy in the matter to render a public meeting necessary whenever an important match is about to take place or should be played.²⁷

The increasing strength of the UWCC appeared to solve the problem. Instead of forming an association, the UWCC felt that "good result will be attained if honorary members will join our new club and put a little pecuniary vitality into it".²⁸

Until the mid 1870s the UWCC fulfilled their objectives admirably. Regular matches were maintained with Nelson, and the Basin Reserve was established as one of the better grounds in New Zealand. However, the formation of a number of new clubs, and the need for still more expensive ground development, prompted calls for change. A series of meetings in October 1875 outlined two objectives for a cricket association. Most immediate was the need for a united body to arrange matches between the increasing number of new clubs and to select Wellington representative teams. But perhaps more important was the desirability of presenting a united front to the public and to such bodies as the Wellington City Council with regard to the Basin Reserve. The disjointed efforts of individual clubs had failed to raise sufficient funds from public subscriptions or to gain Council support for various deputations concerning the future of the ground.²⁹

Under the chairmanship of C.A. Knapp, a product of Lancing College, Sussex, seven clubs attended the inaugural meeting of the Wellington Cricket Association on 22 October

²⁷. *Wellington Independent*, 30 November 1867, p.5.

²⁸. *Ibid*, 20 February 1868, p.4.

²⁹. Neely, *100 Summers*, p.21.

1875. The Governor, the Marquess of Normanby, accepted the position of Patron of the Association, and the Provincial Superintendent, William Fitzherbert, was elected President. Each club paid a £3.3s subscription and 11s for each match played on the Basin Reserve. These funds contributed to the employment of a full-time groundsman.³⁰

From 1880 to 1936 the WCA had only two presidents. The first, William Hort Levin (1845-93), inherited his father Nathaniel's considerable business empire and ultimately an estate valued in excess of £100,000. He was MHR 1879-84, a director of numerous companies and extensively involved with Wellington charities and sports clubs.³¹ His successor, Francis Henry Dillon Bell (1851-1936), was president of the Association from 1893 until his death. Educated in Auckland and Dunedin, and at St John's College, Cambridge, he was called to the English Bar in 1874 and returned to New Zealand to serve as Wellington Crown Solicitor 1878-90, 1902-10. Regarded as the leader of the New Zealand Bar from the early 1890s, he was one of the country's first King's Counsel in 1907, and served as President of the New Zealand Law Society 1901-18. Mayor of Wellington 1891-2 and 1896 and MHR 1893-6, Bell was leader of the Legislative Council 1912-28. As right-hand man to W.F. Massey, especially during the wartime National Government, Bell held various ministerial portfolios, the attorney generalship and was acting Prime Minister for various periods during the early 1920s. Following Massey's death in 1925, Bell briefly held office as the first New Zealand

³⁰. *Evening Post*, 23 October 1875, p.2; 28 October 1875, p.2.

³¹. Scholefield, *op. cit.*, Vol.1, p.495.

born Prime Minister. In addition to the Cricket Association, he was President of the Wellington Rugby Football Union and the Wellington Racing Club.³²

Among other long serving officials of the Association were Samuel Alpe, variously a grocer and clerk, and Charles Benbow, the Manager of the South British Insurance Company. Moreover the tendency among almost all clubs was towards white-collar administration. In an analysis of club and Association administrators for the 1890s, Beckford reveals that 22.3% were from high white-collar occupations, 57.3% from low white-collar and only 20.4% blue-collar. Of the last group, almost all were skilled tradesmen.³³ If anything, the WCA became even more exclusive than this. By 1910 its vice presidents included such men as Dr W.E. Collins, Hugh Gully, a legal partner of Bell, and David Nathan, a prominent Wellington merchant.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 reveal the changing dynamics of the WCA and the various competitions administered by it. Using a slightly, but not substantially, different method of classification to that employed by Beckford, Paul Meuli has concluded that blue-collar workers comprised a fairly static 60% of the adult male workforce during the period 1896 to 1926.³⁴ Yet at no time did blue-collar participation in Wellington cricket exceed 45%. Such changes as did occur, especially the relative decline of high white-collar and increase of blue-collar participation during the 1890s, reflect

³². *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.34-6.

³³. Beckford, *op. cit.*, p.53.

³⁴. P.M. Meuli, "Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation: A Study of New Middle Class Expansion in New Zealand 1896-1926", MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1978, pp.28-38.

TABLE 6.1
CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PARTICIPATION
IN WELLINGTON CLUB CRICKET 1878-1940³⁵

	1878-88	1889-99	1900-10	1925
High White Collar	20%	10%	12%	15%
Low White Collar	51%	49%	42%	40%
Blue Collar	29%	41%	46%	45%

TABLE 6.2
OCCUPATIONAL RANKING OF WELLINGTON
PLAYERS AND ADMINISTRATORS 1890-99

	Administrators	Players
High White Collar	22.3%	10%
Low White Collar	57.3%	49%
Blue Collar	20.4%	41%

³⁵. Source: N. Beckford, pp.7,53.

similar shifts in the demography of Wellington. The population mushroomed from 7,908 in 1871 to 37,135 in 1891 - an increase of 370%. By comparison, Auckland increased by 75%, Christchurch by 237% and Dunedin by 113%. Wellington showed the fastest growth of the four main centres during the 1880s.³⁶ Most noticeable was industrial expansion in the Hutt Valley and in Petone especially. The establishment of the Railway Workshops in 1877 and the Gear Meat Company in 1882 contributed to a 160% population increase in the area between 1881 and 1886.³⁷

The WCA was slow to respond to these changes. In 1880 the four senior teams in Wellington - Rising Star, United, Wanderers and Wellington were all based on the inner city. The minimal information available suggests that Wanderers and Wellington were the most occupationally elite, with United and Rising Star comprising a mix of low white-collar and skilled blue-collar workers.³⁸ Despite the outward expansion of Wellington, the senior competition remained focused on the inner city. From the inception of a Senior Cup competition in 1883-84 until its replacement with District Cricket in 1909-10, Midland, Phoenix and Wellington - all inner-city clubs - were constant participants. They were joined by other inner-city clubs such as Poneke (1884-89), Rivals (1889-99), Star (1883-90), Surrey (1884-85), Wellington College Old Boys (1885-86, 1900-09) and Wellington B (1898-99).³⁹ With the

³⁶. Figures derived from Olssen, "Social Class", p.34.

³⁷. D.P. Millar, *Once Upon a Village: A History of Lower Hutt, 1819-1965*, Wellington, 1972, p.92; S. Butterworth, *Petone: A History*, Auckland, 1988, pp.92-5.

³⁸. Occupational survey. Wellington: 1879-80, 45 players, 4 clubs, 16 traced, 35.6%.

³⁹. A.H. Carman, *Wellington Cricket Centenary 1875-1975*, Wellington,

exception of Wellington and, later, Wellington College Old Boys, the clubs contained an even mix of low white-collar and skilled blue-collar workers. The Wellington CC, with consistent patronage from clerks and bank staff, doctors, solicitors and a draftsman, remained a more obviously prestigious club.⁴⁰

Beyond the Senior grade, the WCA administered Second and Third grade competitions during the 1890s which included such semi-rural/suburban teams as Hutt, Johnsonville, Kaiwarra, Karori, Kilburnie, Petone and Waiwhetu, as well as various trade and school teams.⁴¹ By 1905 there were 33 teams in four Saturday grades. The Wellington Wednesday Cricket Association boasted a further fourteen teams.⁴²

Table 6.3, although dealing specifically with the 1892-93 season, neatly captures the balance of Wellington cricket during the late nineteenth century. If Midland can be taken as the mid-point, in that its membership was 50% blue-collar, the differences between those above and below it on the table are quite marked. Of the clubs above Midland, those with the greatest percentages of blue-collar participants, all were from outer Wellington suburbs and none achieved senior status until the twentieth century - if at all. Of the clubs below Midland, those with the least percentage of blue-collar participants, all were from the inner city and four of the six held senior status. Another, Thorndon, was based on one of the

1975, pp.11-33.

⁴⁰. Occupational survey. Wellington: 1889-90, 56 players, 5 clubs, 29 traced, 51.8%; 1899-1900, 51 players, 5 clubs, 32 traced, 63.5%.

⁴¹. Beckford, op. cit., p.29; Neely, *100 Summers*, p.45.

⁴². Beckford, op. cit., p.29; Neely, *100 Summers*, p.67.

TABLE 6.3
BLUE COLLAR PARTICIPATION 1892-93⁴³

	Skilled blue-collar	Total blue-collar
Kaiwarra	60%	81%
Johnsonville	46%	73%
Petone	30%	65%
Kilbernie	42%	63%
Vivian	50%	62%
Midland	40%	50%
Star	30%	46%
Thorndon	26%	26%
Phoenix	15%	24%
Excelsior	23%	23%
Rival	18%	18%
Wellington	5%	8%

⁴³. Source: Beckford, op. cit., p.30.

eldest and wealthiest suburbs in central Wellington.⁴⁴

The expansion of suburban cricket seems to have made no real impact when the WCA first approached the task of altering its senior competition after the turn of the century. In 1904 Gas Company, Newtown and Australs - a team composed largely of expatriate Australians - were admitted to senior status. Again, all were inner-city clubs. Finally, in 1907 Petone were admitted to the senior grade on the basis of having won the second grade competition during the previous year. Waiwhetu were admitted for the same reason during 1908, and YMCA were also admitted for a season prior to the introduction of District Cricket.⁴⁵

The strong urban bias of the WCA senior competition was probably more a matter of pragmatism than deliberate exclusiveness. Obviously many of the newer suburban clubs took time to develop a standard of play worthy of senior status. But the greatest obstacle, as always in Wellington, was a lack of grounds. During the 1880s the Basin Reserve was the only ground that could be used for club cricket. In 1884 it staged one senior and two junior games each Saturday, with the other two senior teams obliged to sit out.⁴⁶ In 1892 the WCA announced that any junior team losing three games would be retired from competition at the end of January as the No.2 wicket was required for senior matches.⁴⁷ This constraint was not satisfactorily resolved until 1904 when the WCA acquired grounds at Days Bay, Johnsonville and Waiwhetu. Another

⁴⁴. Irvine-Smith, op. cit., passim.

⁴⁵. Carman, *Wellington Cricket*, pp.31-2.

⁴⁶. Neely, *100 Summers*, p.29.

⁴⁷. Ibid, p.45.

ground at Miramar was opened the following year.⁴⁸

The severe shortage of grounds in Wellington, and the compromises that were necessary for all grades, perhaps served to dilute any potential objection to white-collar domination of senior cricket. There could be no sustained objection to a Cricket Association which was willing to suspend one of its senior matches during the 1880s in order that junior teams could use the Basin Reserve.

Once a larger number of grounds became available, the WCA was able to contemplate a District Cricket scheme. Although a sub-committee had been formed in 1905 to consider the scheme, the change did not come until 1909. It was greeted with considerable optimism - the only criticisms at the end of the first season relating to a perceived failure by the Wellington City Council to maintain the grounds in each District.⁴⁹ Some complaint was also directed at the Wellington Junior Cricket Association which had not adopted District Cricket. It was suggested that many players who remained with their old clubs in the lower grades should have been playing for senior District teams.⁵⁰ Whether their motives in not making the transition were purely social, or a reaction against the varied social origins of those whom they may have been obliged to play with in District clubs, is pure speculation. The Wellington press did not dwell on the matter and there is no sign of any form of class conflict.

⁴⁸. Ibid, pp.66-7.

⁴⁹. *New Zealand Referee*, 4 October 1905, p.55; *The New Zealand Free Lance*, 2 October 1909, p.19; 26 March 1910, p.18.

⁵⁰. *The New Zealand Free Lance*, 19 March 1910, p.18.

The social composition of representative cricket and administration in both Auckland and Wellington reveals a clear bias towards white-collar and skilled blue-collar involvement. There is little sign of the semi-skilled or unskilled worker. Yet it is somewhat tenuous to posit the existence of a deliberate class barrier within either cricket association. Moreover, in neither case was there any significant resistance when the established clubs were dismantled in favour of District Cricket schemes.

A question must therefore be phrased less in terms of asking why the middle class dominated New Zealand cricket, and more in terms of why many working class cricketers were unable to join them. For it is quite apparent that there were aspects of the social structure of late nineteenth century New Zealand which conspired against blue-collar cricket more than any component of the game itself. Most important are the extent of urbanisation, working conditions, occupational structure and educational opportunities. Only when these elements began to change during the 1890s, did the social composition of cricket alter discernibly.

First and foremost, representative cricket was an urban affair, and New Zealand was not an urbanised society. The percentage of the total European population living in the four main centres rose slowly from 19.8% in 1871 to 22.95% in 1891 and 31.52% by 1911.⁵¹ As chapters Eight and Ten will show more thoroughly, the establishment and maintenance of good facilities entailed expenses and effort beyond the reach

⁵¹. Figures derived from Olssen, "Towards a New Society", p.256; "Social Class", p.35.

of small groups in isolated rural clubs. Even the main centre cricket associations were encumbered with huge debts for their troubles - not least in Wellington where an estimated £2590 was spent on the Basin Reserve. Moreover, before the turn of the century, few rural areas had either the numbers or the clubs to sustain regular competition structures at a standard worthy of consistent attention from their city counterparts. With the exception of Hawkes Bay and Nelson, the fortunes of the cricket associations outside the main centres were rather haphazard.⁵²

During the late nineteenth century New Zealand's four main centres contained the wealthiest and most influential stratum of businessmen and professionals, along with the vast majority of semi-professional and lower white-collar occupations. Until the expansion of the industrial sector during the late 1890s, semi-skilled and unskilled workers were predominantly rural.⁵³ Hence these groups would always be under-represented in the cricket teams of the main centres.

Nor were urban workers necessarily in a better position to join the upper echelon of New Zealand cricket. Long working hours, low wages and periods of economic depression, especially during the late 1880s, severely restricted opportunities for leisure. Amidst a wave of Liberal reform legislation enacted after 1890 the Shops and Shop Assistants Act 1894 and the Shops and Offices Act Amendment Act 1905 were of considerable benefit. They allowed for a weekly half-holiday beginning at 1pm and stipulated that all commercial

⁵². Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, pp.135f.

⁵³. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", pp.272-3; "Social Class", pp.34-5.

offices were to close no later than 5pm on weekdays and 1pm on Saturday.⁵⁴ Yet many workers remained outside the scope of this legislation, and others were still denied access to representative cricket in that their half-holiday was on Wednesday or Thursday, rather than Saturday when all senior grade cricket was played.

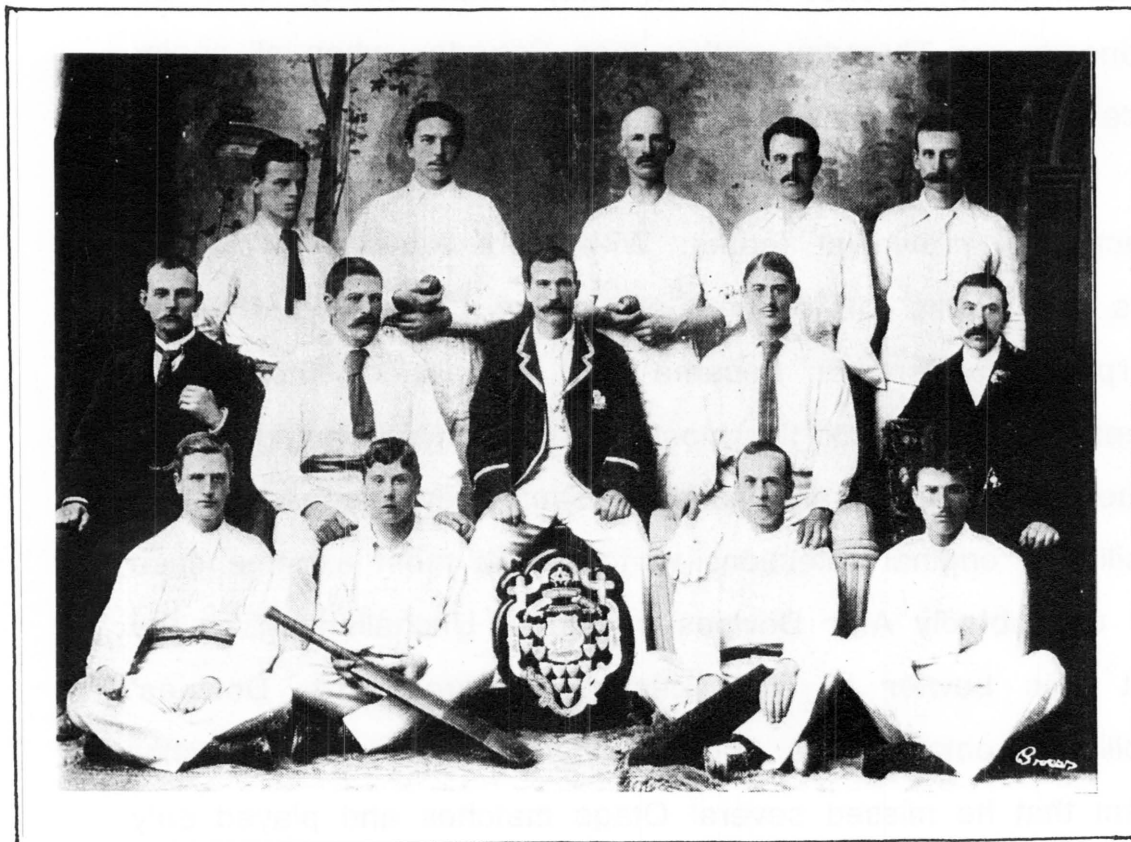
The problem was even more pronounced for those selected in provincial teams. With work leave required for days or weeks at a time in order to play and tour, interprovincial cricket became the domain of those with independent means or the most flexible working arrangements. Numerous provincial and national teams were dogged by the inability of original selections to tour. The most extreme case was undoubtedly Alec Downes of Otago. Unchallenged as the best spin bowler in New Zealand before 1914, Downes' inability to obtain leave from employment as a brass-finisher meant that he missed several Otago matches and played only twice in the North Island during a twenty-six year first-class career.⁵⁵ There was little prospect of the financially strapped cricket associations adequately compensating anyone for loss of earnings. Indeed, an attempt to do so by the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1914 almost triggered its demise.⁵⁶

The considerable occupational mobility of semi-skilled and unskilled workers also posed problems for their cricket. The 1891 Census reveals that seasonal workers constituted perhaps one third of the adult male European labour force, and that more than half were itinerant for some part of the year. It

⁵⁴. *New Zealand Statutes*, 1894, No.32; 1905, No.43.

⁵⁵. *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.123-4.

⁵⁶. See Chapter Fourteen.



Opoho Cricket Club, winners of Dunedin Junior Challenge Shield 1899-1900. Opoho was one of the stronger skilled blue-collar cricket clubs in Dunedin during the 1890s. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14798)

is estimated that between 1900 and 1922 only half of all miners and wharfies were resident in one locality long enough to be included in street directories. Of the stable half, perhaps 70% remained for less than five years and 50% less than two.⁵⁷ This was especially true of young, single males - always the largest group of sporting participants - with obvious implications for regular and effective participation and for attempts to establish and administer clubs.

Educational opportunities were also a factor. In 1901 less than three per cent of the European population attended public secondary schools, with another five per cent in District High Schools or Standard Seven classes. Despite the availability of free secondary education from 1902, and the increasing educational emphasis demanded by a changing occupational structure, the overall attendance figure had risen to only thirteen per cent in 1921 and 25 per cent in 1939.⁵⁸ Yet as Chapter Nine will demonstrate, the secondary schools, and especially the elite institutions which followed the English public school model, were crucial training grounds for a disproportionate number of representative cricketers. They provided good facilities and equipment and, most importantly, expert coaching. Even after 1900, primary schools were slow to shift from quasi-military physical drill to the codified sports of their secondary counterparts. The majority of the population therefore went without the benefits of easy access to formal instruction.

57. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", p.275; J.E. Martin, *The Forgotten Worker: The Rural Wage Earner in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, pp.14-15.

58. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", pp.276-7.

On a more speculative level, it is probable that many players simply had no interest in playing formal grade cricket, irrespective of whether they could afford it. Then, as now, some undoubtedly preferred a social game with workmates rather than the demands of competition. To cater for the social cricketer, and for the mid-week player, all of the main centres had developed separate competitions by the mid 1890s. Exactly how these were formed or operated is less easily understood. Press coverage of their proceedings is minimal, and that of their play makes it difficult to reliably identify individuals.

A Wednesday Cricket Association was active in Wellington from at least 1892, and a Wellington Junior Cricket Association was formed during the same year.⁵⁹ Although little can be determined of developments during the next two decades, the Wednesday Cricket Association was strong enough to promote a tour by the South Melbourne CC in 1912-13.⁶⁰ The Wellington Mercantile Cricket League was established in July 1921. From an initial entry of sixteen teams, it expanded to 38 by 1930 and 60 by 1937.⁶¹

Such competitions were even more active in Christchurch. From the early 1860s there were regular games between workplaces and trades, with the butchers and bakers especially having active clubs. By 1898 a Thursday Cup competition was well established and the Thursday Cricket

⁵⁹. Beckford, *op. cit.*, pp.24-8; Neely, *100 Summers*, p.45.

⁶⁰. W. Wilhelm, typescript notes on South Melbourne CC tour of New Zealand 1912-13, in possession of author. My thanks to Ray Webster for this material.

⁶¹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.99; *50 Years of Cricket, 1921-71: The History of the Wellington Mercantile Cricket League*, Wellington, 1971, pp.7-9.

Association was affiliated to the CCA. With an increasing number of fixtures between suburban and workplace teams, the Christchurch Suburban Cricket Association (CSCA) was formed in late 1905. Under the guidance of the Rev. R.J. Gray of the Oxford Tce Baptist Church, the original membership consisted of eight clubs; Addington Workshops, A.J. White's, Lyttelton, Oxford Tce Baptist Church, Spreydon, St Matthew's Guild, Sumner and Templeton.⁶² By 1908 there were seventeen teams with 354 registered players each paying a 6d fee. In 1914 there were forty teams and 500 registered players. New clubs included Islington-Hornby, Sydenham Hockey Club, Druids and Waimairi.⁶³ By 1910 teams from the CSCA were regularly visiting country areas and Banks Peninsula. At Christmas 1914 a representative team visited Dunedin to play the recently formed Otago Cricket League, and a team from the Wellington Boys' Cricket League visited Christchurch soon after. As ever, the major problem facing the CSCA was a lack of grounds. Numerous negotiations with the Christchurch City Council resulted in access to a ground in South Hagley Park, and another was obtained from the Canterbury Football Association, but facilities were never adequate.⁶⁴

The Auckland Cricket Association inaugurated a Wednesday competition for the 1903-04 season, but it was not until 1913 that Auckland's various mid-week and workplace competitions came together under the Auckland Suburban Cricket Association (ASCA). At a series of meetings in

⁶² W. Skelton, *Not Out ...75: The Official History of the Christchurch Suburban Cricket Association*, Christchurch, 1980, pp.15-17.

⁶³ Ibid, p.17.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp.19-24.

September and October 1913, the new body stated that its objectives were to loosen the "prevailing conservatism" of Auckland cricket by providing cheaper and more accessible facilities for the many young people wishing to play in the city and suburbs. But having said this, the new Association remained firmly affiliated to the ACA. Its first president was Frederick Earl KC and its Patron W.F. Massey, New Zealand Prime Minister 1912-25.⁶⁵

Among the earliest teams to join the ASCA were Auckland Gas Company, Brotherhood, Carlton, Druids, Herald, Maritime, Newmarket, Onehunga, Papatoetoe, Plasterers Union, Railway Workshops, Remuera and Tramways - a mix of geographically and workplace-based teams. By April 1914 an ASCA team had played three matches on a tour of the far north, and matches were arranged against Junior representative teams from the ACA.⁶⁶

The Otago Cricket League, formed at the beginning of the 1913-14 season, is the most difficult to trace. It included two teams from the Hillside Workshops, one each from the YMCA, Railways and Tramways, two from Reid & Grey's (engineers/ironfounders), one from Hayward's (furniture manufacturers) and one from Standard. There are no reports of either the meetings or administrators of this League.⁶⁷

Without a more detailed analysis of the membership of these organisations, it is unwise to characterise them as a

⁶⁵. ACA, Annual Report, 1904; T. Hyland, *Golden Jubilee of Domain Cricket*, Auckland, 1964, p.11.

⁶⁶. Hyland, op. cit., p.12.

⁶⁷. *Otago Witness*, 29 October 1913, p.54; 5 November 1913, p.55.

straightforward blue-collar response to the established order. In part they were an expedient based on work patterns and personal preference. But their increased formalisation and expansion during the first decade of the twentieth century may be as much a reflection of urban growth and changing occupational structure. While many clubs were based on workplaces and trades, many others were geographically based - encompassing cricketers who lived in new suburbs at some distance from the old inner city clubs which revolved around grounds such as Hagley Park in Christchurch or the Basin Reserve in Wellington. Even among the older cricket associations, the shift to District Cricket schemes is a clear acknowledgment of the changed distribution of the population.

One can also speculate as to whether these new suburban clubs were necessarily a bastion for blue-collar cricket. Urbanisation, industrialisation and specialisation altered the occupational structure considerably from 1890 to 1914. While the percentage of employers and professionals in the workforce remained fairly constant, that of semi-professionals and white-collar workers in general expanded rapidly - especially in secretarial, clerical and sales positions. Conversely, the percentage of skilled and semi-skilled workers expanded more slowly, and the unskilled shrank dramatically.⁶⁸ There is no reason to doubt that cricket clubs also embodied such change.

Without detailed press coverage and extant club records, it is impossible to pursue this line of enquiry much further. Moreover, without an analytical framework which avoids the

⁶⁸. Olssen, "Towards a New Society", pp.272-3.

pitfalls of occupational classification and imprecise identification, it is stretching credibility to theorise about developments too far beyond the publicly visible domain of cricket associations and their constituent senior clubs. The participation rate in representative cricket for semi-skilled and unskilled workers in 1890 was kept to a minimum by a lack of urbanisation as much as by inflexible working conditions. Provincial and national teams were drawn almost exclusively from competitions played on Saturdays in the four main centres. But in 1914, when many of the earlier impediments had been removed, the lower participation rate of semi-skilled and unskilled workers may reflect nothing more than their diminishing percentage of the population - and the urban population especially. This says more about demography than it does about cricket.

When dealing with non-representative cricket, identifying instances of significant tension between the various strata of the game is perhaps more important than examining the composition of the various clubs. If conflict does not emerge, then it is safe enough to conclude that cricketers generally found their particular niche. By this measure there appear to be no major ruptures within the histories of either Auckland or Wellington cricket. It may only be said that the cricket associations maintained a passive rather than active attitude to expansion in that their senior competitions and representative teams remained firmly geared to the Saturday half-holiday and to the preferences of the white-collar cricketer. Certainly the leading administrators were drawn from a privileged background, but this is no basis

for a sustainable theory of class exclusiveness in Auckland and Wellington. But in Canterbury and Otago there are sufficient grounds to suggest something different.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSENSUS
CRICKET AND CLASS IN CANTERBURY AND OTAGO
1870-1914

New Zealand's social structure and the dynamics of representative cricket conspired against consistent blue-collar participation at the highest levels. Yet the reaction to this in the South Island shows a level of acrimony and confrontation unknown in the North. In Auckland and Wellington the leading clubs which were formed during the early 1870s survived easily alongside the gradual domination of their cricket associations by men of social standing. But the elite traditions which characterised Canterbury cricket from 1851, and to a lesser extent the Dunedin Cricket Club of the 1860s, remained in place for much longer. While Canterbury led the way in the administration and expansion of New Zealand cricket, and the Canterbury/Otago fixture became the centrepiece of interprovincial activity, domestic arrangements, especially in Otago, were less settled. During the 1880s Dunedin witnessed frequent hostility between working class cricketers who sought their rightful share of limited space and facilities, and supporters of the Otago Cricket Association who sought to exclude them. Two decades later in Christchurch, resistance came from above rather than below as the rump of the United Canterbury CC and Midland

Canterbury CC fought a spirited rearguard action against the imposition of District Cricket. Most importantly, the manner in which the two disputes were conducted leaves no question that class was the issue and that it was consciously pursued.

The basis of conflict in both Canterbury and Otago derives from the character of their leading clubs and the structure of their cricket associations. But these in turn were shaped by broader social forces acting upon Christchurch and Dunedin. In both cities, and much more clearly than is the case in Auckland or Wellington, the structure and location of clubs can be closely aligned to wider patterns of class delineation and urban segregation.

In typically progressive fashion, proposals to form cricket associations in Canterbury and Otago stemmed from plans to send teams to Australia. After the Canterbury/Otago match in Christchurch, in February 1867, the two teams discussed the possibility of bringing a Victorian team to New Zealand. The outcome was a motion "That no further steps be taken towards establishing the match with Victoria until a cricketing association be formed in each of the provinces of Otago and Canterbury". Only four people attended another meeting on the subject held a month later, and nothing more was heard on the matter.¹

In response to the proposed visit of Lillywhite's All England XI in 1877, Otago was the first to revive ideas of an association. The Otago Cricket Association, "Having for its

¹. *The Press*, 14 February 1867, p.2; R.T. Brittenden, *A Century of Cricket: The History of the Canterbury Cricket Association 1877-1977*, Christchurch, 1977, p.7.

objective the management of interprovincial matches and the general advancement of the game" was formed at a meeting on 16 July 1876. Under the Presidency of W.D. Murison, editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, the original OCA was more an elite "super-club" than a central controlling body for constituent clubs. For an annual subscription of 10s/6d members gained free admission to all matches under the jurisdiction of the Association. A determination was also expressed to involve country cricketers in order to make the OCA truly provincial rather than just a Dunedin entity.²

The structure the OCA sought to control was the most diverse and expansive of New Zealand's main centres. Excluding church, office and factory teams, there were at least forty cricket clubs in Dunedin during the years 1860 to 1880. Some were schoolboy teams, many were fairly informal groupings, and most survived for only one or two seasons. Even among those regarded as senior clubs there was a certain degree of instability. Citizens, the trade club founded in 1868-69, finally disbanded in 1877. The Dunedin CC, which had flourished during the peak gold years, was acrimoniously wound up in 1881. Various attempts to establish an Otago University Cricket Club produced sporadic results. Only the blue-collar Albion CC, which had played some matches as a boys' team during 1869, could claim a continuous existence into the 1880s.³

But a new and influential club emerged in the form of the Carisbrook CC. Originally formed as a boys' team during 1874-

². *Otago Daily Times*, 17 July 1876, p.3.

³. *Centennial Souvenir Programme*, p.35.

75, it gained adult leadership after the demise of the shortlived South Dunedin Cricket Club in 1876.⁴ By 1880 Carisbrook boasted the best ground in Dunedin. Up to 1914 its playing members were drawn almost exclusively from aspiring white-collar professionals - especially insurance company employees. The only exceptions were for such a player as J.H. Hope, a cabinetmaker and undertaker, who ranked behind only Alec Downes and Arthur Fisher among Otago bowlers of the 1890s.⁵

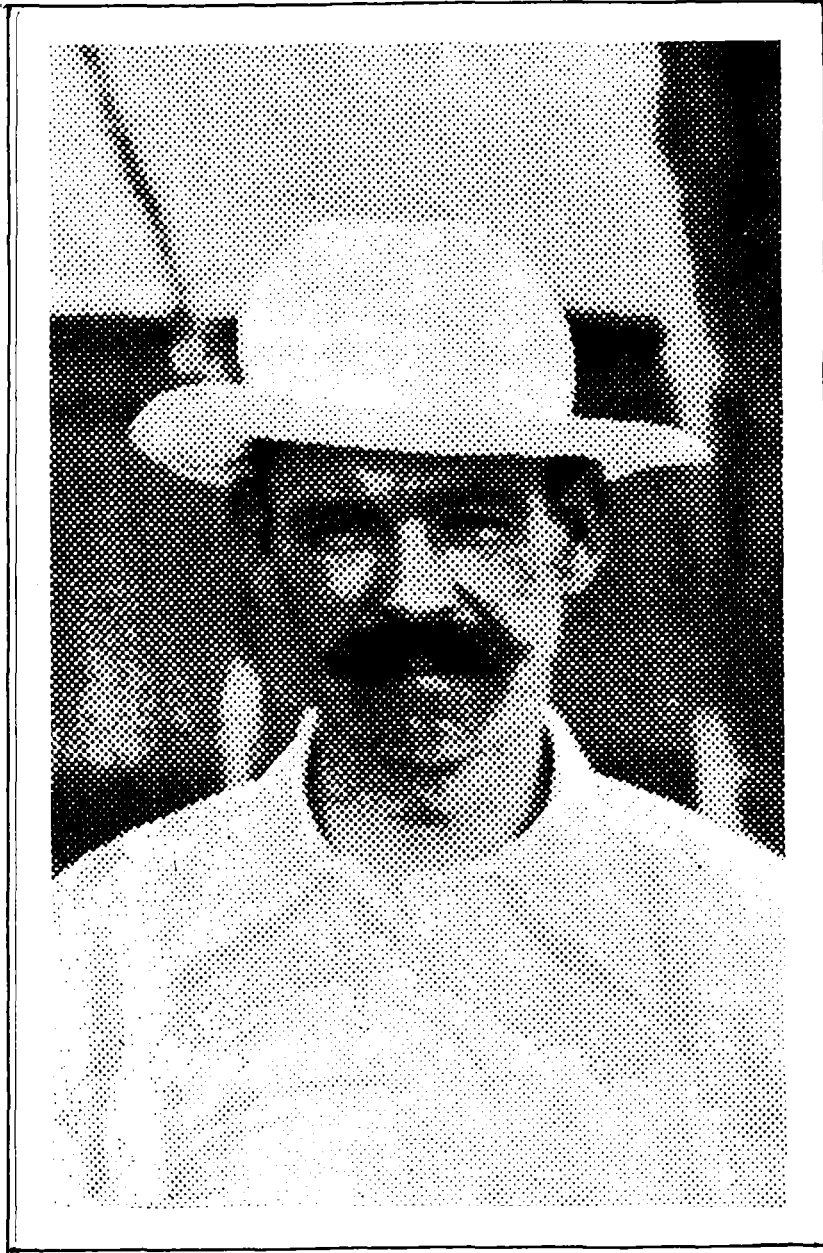
In 1880 the Dunedin CC was clearly the second club in terms of social status, composed mainly of clerical staff, but also including an ironmonger and two builders. After its demise in 1881 some club members formed another shortlived Dunedin CC, while others formed the Phoenix CC which maintained the low white-collar/skilled blue-collar traditions of its predecessor. Its playing membership in 1890 included schoolmasters, clerks, a printer and a painter. When this club also disintegrated during the early 1890s, the pattern was maintained by yet another incarnation of the Dunedin CC formed in 1893.⁶

The other clubs to hold senior status throughout the period 1880-1914 were Albion and Grange. Both remained unmistakably blue-collar - dominated by bootmakers and carpenters. Yet in James Baker, Alec Downes and W. Parker they also provided three of Otago's most talented players over a long period. The members of Opoho, a senior club from the

4. Ibid.

5. Occupational Survey. Otago, 1879-80: 3 clubs, 36 players, 24 traced, 66.6%; 1889-90, 4 clubs, 51 players, 23 traced, 45.1%; 1899-1900, 5 clubs, 59 players, 34 traced, 57.6%.

6. *Centennial Souvenir Programme*, p.35.



Alec Downes (1868-1950). Undoubtedly the best spin bowler in New Zealand prior to 1914, Downes career was limited by inability to gain regular leave from employment as a brass finisher. He played only two games in the North Island. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14802)

late 1890s, are difficult to trace with any certainty - although a baker, boilermaker, collarmaker and two commercial travellers suggest that it was similar to Albion and Grange.

Otago representative teams were dominated by Carisbrook and Dunedin CC players. - a situation which only changed when Baker, Downes and Parker of the Grange CC established themselves during the early 1890s. The teams which played Canterbury in 1879 and 1880 drew at least nine of their eleven members from Dunedin and Carisbrook. Not until the late 1890s did Albion contribute players to the Otago XI for the interprovincial match.⁷ Similarly, the members of the Otago Cricket Association committee during the 1880s were drawn almost exclusively from Carisbrook and Phoenix. Included were J.P. Maitland, Commissioner of Crown Lands, James Rattray, a leading Dunedin merchant, Frederick Fulton, a shipping agent, and Samuel Sleight (c1850-1909), first secretary/treasurer of the Otago Rugby Football Union and manager of the first New Zealand rugby team to Australia in 1884. He returned to England and was prominent enough to gain a place on the Rugby Football Union committee 1888-91.⁸ The only exceptions to elite domination of the OCA were Robert Wilson, the president of the Albion club, who was among the vice presidents in 1880, and a bootmaker from the same club who served on the committee during the same period.

Dunedin's cricketing hierarchy, and the tensions which eventually emerged from within it, contain strong parallels

7. Derived from Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, passim.

8. Chester & McMillan, op. cit., p.260.

with the development of the city as a whole. During the 1870s and early 1880s Dunedin was the most rapidly industrialising area in New Zealand - leading the colony in population growth, commerce and wealth. The population increased from 21,517 in 1871 to 40,950 in 1881, and although growth slowed during the late 1880s and 1890s, a clear residential and industrial grading was established within the city and suburbs.⁹ As Erik Olssen explains the implications of such a dramatic change:

Residential differentiation, rooted in different life-chances and opportunities, intensified class distinctions. Institutions such as lodges, churches and sports clubs, which mediated between social strata in small communities, compounded class differences in the cities and provided a necessary but not sufficient condition for the growth of class consciousness.¹⁰

South Dunedin, North Dunedin and North East Valley were working class intensive industrial areas. 90% of housing in the former area and 60% in the latter was of the lowest value in Dunedin. Some skilled workers and lower white-collar workers occupied the hill suburbs such as Mornington and Roslyn, while the wealthy were spread throughout the best localities in various suburbs.¹¹

Dunedin's topography determined that the best cricket grounds - the Caledonian ground, Carisbrook and the Oval - were all located in South Dunedin. As this undoubtedly had some part to play in the location of clubs, it is difficult to establish a single correlation between the class base of various localities and the nature of club formation within them. But it is revealing that the identifiably blue-collar

⁹. W.A.V. Clark, "Dunedin at the Turn of the Century", *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol. 18, 1962, pp.94-103; Olssen, *History of Otago*, p.92; "Social Class", pp.34-5.

¹⁰. Olssen, "Social Class", p.35.

¹¹. Clark, op. cit., pp.104-7; Olssen, *History of Otago*, p.92.

senior clubs, Albion, Grange and Opoho, were all based, at various times, on the only substantial cricket ground in industrial North Dunedin.¹² The more elite Dunedin CC and its successor, the Phoenix CC, were based on the Oval in South Dunedin, but a reliable residential breakdown of their members is not possible.¹³

The position of Carisbrook is the most revealing. Although the Carisbrook ground was sited firmly in the heart of South Dunedin, the Club jealously guarded its exclusiveness and access to its facilities. It had little, if any, involvement with the surrounding community. T.K. Sidey, MHR for much of South Dunedin 1901-28, although a patron of many voluntary and sporting organisations, never had any involvement with the Carisbrook CC or any of the sports clubs in the wealthier St Clair area.¹⁴ But in one sense, the membership of white-collar clubs, and Carisbrook in particular, was a simple reflection of their control of the best grounds. Because funds were needed for development, the clubs tended to charge higher admission fees. Membership was therefore restricted to those who could afford to pay.

Dunedin's rapid population expansion and industrial growth is reflected in a plethora of small clubs and single teams. In 1883 alone there were between fifty and sixty such teams, most of whom did not subscribe to the niceties of the Carisbrook dominated OCA. Among the more active during the

12. G. Tait, "The History of the Otago Cricket Association in the Nineteenth Century", MA Thesis, University of Otago, 1974, p.62.

13. Griffiths, "History of Otago Cricket".

14. E. Olssen, *Building the new World: Work, Politics and Society in Caversham 1880s-1920s*, Auckland, 1995, p.42.

mid 1880s were the following:¹⁵

Naval Brigade	St Matthew's Choir
Hillside Workshops	New Zealand Clothing Factory
City Guards Band	Headquarters Band
Saddlers Union	Coomb's Tannery
Combined Ironmongers	Watchmakers & Jewellers

The Hillside railway workshops were especially dominant within the fabric of South Dunedin. They employed more than 400 staff by 1900 and maintained a strong involvement in numerous local sporting institutions.¹⁶

The single greatest difficulty facing all clubs, whether affiliated to the OCA or not, was a lack of suitable grounds or the finance to develop them even if appropriate sites could be found. Many matches were played on rough paddocks, and teams shared facilities that were seldom adequate for one of them.¹⁷ As Dunedin's population and industry expanded, its supply of even the most basic paddock-cricket grounds increasingly diminished. Thus, there was little hope of accommodating the natural increase in the numbers of potential cricketers implicit in the population boom of the 1870s. In combination with the OCA's elite structure and narrow criteria for the selection of representative teams, conflict was inevitable.

The first salvo in the dispute came from an Albion supporter who bitterly attacked the Otago Cricket Association's failure to include any Albion players among the 27 to practice for the match against Alfred Shaw's All England XI in January 1882. The omission, according to the

¹⁵. Tait, op. cit., p.55.

¹⁶. Olssen, *Building the new World*, pp.27-8,42.

¹⁷. Tait, op. cit., p.55.

correspondent, was undoubtedly a reflection of Carisbrook's domination of the OCA to the detriment of blue-collar cricketers.¹⁸

Precisely what happened during the next few months is uncertain. Sometime during early June 1882 a meeting was held to form a Dunedin and Suburban Cricket Association (D & SCA). Justice Williams accepted the Presidency and the committee reported steady growth.¹⁹ In a long letter to the *Evening Star*, "Progress" reiterated the widespread lack of faith in the OCA.

That the old Association have failed to carry out their fundamental principles must be generally conceded. Formed for the ostensible support and encouragement of the game, they have, from the exclusiveness of their proceedings, forfeited the confidence of the great majority of our cricketers. Their proceedings have long ceased to carry influence beyond their own magic circle, and for many years past the feeling of dissatisfaction has been generally expressed. The causes for such opinions are not difficult to arrive at. A cricketing Association, to be successful in its operations, should, in the onerous duty of selecting our representative cricketers, be represented by gentlemen in whom the general body of cricketers have every confidence. I am quite aware that it is a very difficult matter to give satisfaction to all, especially in selecting a team; but I have always considered that for representative teams to be selected by a Carisbrook-cum-Phoenix coalition as heretofore savours too much of exclusive representation to ever be acceptable to the cricketers generally.

The D & SCA intended to overcome the perceived elitism of the OCA by electing a selection committee on the votes of all members at its Annual General Meeting. Nevertheless, it had every intention of working alongside the OCA to develop a more egalitarian approach to cricket in Dunedin.

Slowly but surely the feeling is gaining ground that the cricket field should be a platform on which all ranks should meet untrammelled by nice social distinctions, and I cannot but think the new project will be successful, if only from its endeavours to bring about this much needed reform.²⁰

In similar tone, W.H Skitch, of the blue-collar Excelsior CC,

¹⁸. *Otago Daily Times*, 10 January 1882, p.3.

¹⁹. *Evening Star*, 16 June 1882, p.2.

²⁰. Ibid, 21 June 1882, p.2.

condemned the high subscription demanded by the OCA. Having played cricket in the Association's competition, he concluded that "it is not an association of cricketers, but of one particular class, who would not humble themselves to mix with the like of me and many others". Members of the working class could not afford to pay such a high subscription for "the mere chance of playing in the interprovincial match".²¹ Both "Progress" and Skitch leave no doubt that the central issue was seen as one of class relationships rather than more straightforward matters of cricketing bureaucracy.

Not all observers felt that a new cricket association was the answer. Addressing the problem of the limited number of playing areas in Dunedin, "Free Ground" suggested that progress would only be made when cricketers combined together and petitioned parliament for control of grounds. The best advocate for their cause would be H.S. Fish Jr, MHR and former Citizens' CC committee member. As to the D & SCA, "Free Ground" felt that it constituted an unnecessarily divisive element in the efforts of Otago cricketers to reach an agreement with the Caledonian Society to use their grounds.

The recently formed Association are the outcome of a movement in the wrong direction, which emanates from brains of a refreshing greenness in Otago cricket. It simply throws into the hands of the Caledonian Society the means of acquiring a continued revenue from cricket, when such should be devoted to cricket alone; and instead of bridging the gulf that I am sorry to say exists here amongst a few, it widens it irreparably. The exclusiveness that was somewhat admitted is now distinct and pronounced, and in this respect I fear the new Association will be ... a failure.²²

In retort, "Progress" insisted that the new Association would not be necessary if the old one had performed properly.²³

²¹. Crawford, "A History of Recreation and Sport", p.240.

²². *Evening Star*, 22 June 1882, p.4.

²³. Ibid, 24 June 1882, p.4.

Early in July 1882 a committee appointed by the Albion club attempted to arrange an amalgamation between the two associations. Although the rules of the OCA were unpopular and in need of revision, it was widely claimed that there was no room for two administrative bodies in Dunedin. A further meeting, attended by both OCA and D & SCA delegates, failed to reach agreement, but it was suggested that the OCA should alter its rules in order to work in harmony with the rival body.²⁴

Accordingly, a special meeting of the OCA in mid July initiated several amendments to the rules. Most importantly, the fee for individual members was reduced from 10s/6d to 2s/6d and the club subscription from two guineas to one. Each club would now be entitled to one delegate on the management committee for each thirty members, with a maximum of three delegates. Later, a Challenge Cup competition was introduced in an effort to expand cricket among junior teams. The 1882 OCA Annual Report insisted that all possible measures had been taken to remove inequalities.²⁵

But any further progress toward unification or harmonious coexistence was halted by the politics of personality. In the first of several letters to the press, Henry Hamer of the Carisbrook CC attacked the motives of the D & SCA and suggested that any reform to the OCA constitution should be pursued in legitimate fashion by a majority decision of the Annual General Meeting. The dominance of Carisbrook men was entirely the fault of other clubs who had made no

²⁴. *Otago Daily Times*, 3 July 1882, p.2; 5 July 1882, p.2; 8 July 1882, p.2.

²⁵. *Otago Witness*, 22 July 1882, p.21; OCA, Annual Report, 1882.

attempt to curb their influence. A week later, Hamer was more forthright in his accusation. "I insist upon saying that the D and SCA is composed of gentlemen banded together for malicious motives, and that their attitude is an affront to Otago cricketers".²⁶ There were further acrimonious exchanges when the D & SCA met to formalise its rules on 23 July. When Henry Rose, a Repton and Cambridge educated businessman and committee member of the OCA, attempted to address the meeting, the Chairmen refused to depart from the set agenda to allow him to speak. Rose and at least twenty others then left the meeting.²⁷ Thereafter the two associations went their separate ways.

By October 1882 the D & SCA claimed the support of six senior and eleven junior clubs with a combined membership of over 500. It had negotiated terms for the use of the Caledonian Ground and hired a groundsman. The OCA was now composed largely of members from Albion, Carisbrook and Phoenix, with Taieri and Kaikorai elevated to a senior status that they would not otherwise have obtained.²⁸ In November the D & SCA, rather than the OCA, secured a match against the touring Auckland team. When the visitors arrived the OCA informed them that the home team was in no sense representative of Otago. Indeed, it was styled "Dunedin and Suburban Cricket Association XI" rather than "Otago", and the match has never been deemed first-class. Few spectators were willing to bet anything in favour of the local team, their judgement being confirmed as

²⁶. *Otago Daily Times*, 31 July 1882, p.2.

²⁷. *Ibid*, 24 July 1882, p.3.

²⁸. Griffiths, "History of Otago Cricket".

Auckland won by an innings and 45 runs. Three weeks later, Carisbrook defeated the same D & SCA XI by an innings and 110 runs.²⁹

After these setbacks the D & SCA effectively disintegrated. There is no mention of it beyond the end of 1882, and its members soon moved back within the fold of the OCA. Players from both associations appeared in the Otago team which played Canterbury in February 1883.³⁰ Under its revised rules the OCA reported a considerable increase in membership - 220 players being registered in October 1883. But the committee also warned of problems ahead unless more grounds could be found to accommodate the increase in numbers. If clubs would only combine into numerically and financially stronger bodies, there would be more chance of securing facilities.³¹

The warning was not heeded and controversy resurfaced again towards the end of 1884 with familiar protagonists. Under the auspices of the Carisbrook CC, a meeting of those clubs in possession of grounds was held on 28 September 1884 to discuss the growing disparity between numbers of clubs and numbers of available grounds in Dunedin. To initiate proceedings, Henry Rose moved a motion to restrict the club programme of the OCA to competition between nine senior clubs and their 2nd XI's. Trusting that all clubs would accept the spirit of the meeting, he argued that Otago cricket would best be served by a small number of strong teams on few grounds, rather than a large number of scattered, weak teams.

²⁹. *Otago Witness*, 2 December 1882, p.21.

³⁰. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.231.

³¹. OCA, Annual Report, 1883; *Otago Daily Times*, 1 October 1883, p.3.

The motion was carried unanimously and a programme formalised for the season.³²

The reaction from those clubs not invited to the meeting was immediate and predictable. In two letters to the *Otago Daily Times* "Junior" outlined a widely held view of Rose and his motives. In short, his motion was a thinly disguised attempt to revive Carisbrook's domination of the OCA after the voting power of all clubs had rejected its delegates for committee positions at the previous Annual General Meeting. Further, the unilateral decision to award senior status to such blue-collar clubs as Albion, Kaikorai and Roslyn, who were no better than many junior clubs and had inferior facilities, was nothing more than an attempt to buy their support for future OCA motions. Paramount among these motions, according to "Junior", was a plan to raise OCA subscriptions to such a level that the Association would soon revert back to the elite body of 1880. It was unfortunate that there were so few grounds in Dunedin, but this was not the fault of the juniors and they resented any plan that would force many of them to give up cricket. With or without Rose's scheme, there would still be the same number of willing cricketers in Dunedin.³³

In an effort to reduce tensions and establish a compromise, a meeting of junior cricketers on 4 November 1884 suggested that the OCA should be invited to provide a trophy for competition among those teams excluded from its new nine team competition. Amid complaints that such a trophy would produce nothing tangible for junior cricket, the

³². *Otago Daily Times*, 29 September 1884, p.2.

³³. *Ibid*, 9 October 1884, p.3; 13 October 1884, p.3.

motion was passed by a narrow majority.³⁴

During the next ten months several junior teams seceded from the OCA, leaving that body in a precarious financial position. The 1885 Annual Report declared that subscriptions from individual members had declined from 263 to 154 and that club subscriptions amounted to only £16.16s.0d derived from the nine senior clubs. A report on the Junior Cup competition lamented the participation of only nine teams from seven clubs.³⁵ Overall, the OCA paid a heavy price for its increasing alienation of blue-collar cricketers. The bank balance declined from £66 in 1880 to £1.6s in 1883 and an overdraft of £23 in 1885.³⁶ This left little finance for such important activities as the staging of interprovincial fixtures.

The need to secure paying members made the OCA far more cautious and diplomatic during the late 1880s. Although it could not overcome the shortage of cricketing space in Dunedin, the Association now endeavoured to make sure that all cricketers had a say in the use of that which was available. There was potential for controversy at the Annual General Meeting in October 1887 when a resolution was passed which restricted the Senior Cup to only those teams which could provide a ground. But at the same time the constitution was entirely revised to make it more equitable. Any potential for monopoly by larger clubs was averted when it was resolved that only nominated club delegates and committee members, and not the financial members of all clubs, were entitled to

³⁴. Ibid, 5 November 1884, p.4.

³⁵. Ibid, 14 November 1885, p.3; OCA, Annual Report, 1885.

³⁶. OCA, Annual Report, 1880, 1883, 1885.

vote at OCA meetings.³⁷ By October 1891 an OCA sub-committee was also making strenuous efforts to find and develop grounds - especially in North Dunedin. Although largely unsuccessful, this represented a significant advance on the rather insular standpoint of the early 1880s.³⁸ No doubt the playing abilities of Baker, Downes and Parker of the blue-collar Grange CC went some way to breaking down the elitism of the OCA and broadening the base of its administration. Downes was a member of the committee in 1890.

After a decade of disharmony, the OCA was finally able to preside over an effective Cup competition and a relatively democratic administrative structure during the 1890s. But as George Griffiths points out, the transformation was achieved at some considerable cost to all but the best cricketers. A comparison between the 1882-83 and 1888-89 seasons (Table 7.1) reveals that a large number of the smaller clubs and trade teams had disappeared by the end of the decade. Even allowing that the *Otago Daily Times* probably altered its criteria for reporting cricket and other sports, there were only half as many games reported in 1888-89 compared with 1882-83. Moreover, it seems that most members of these teams drifted away from cricket rather than joining larger clubs. Individual membership of the OCA declined from 263 in 1884 to about 170 in 1887. Albion was described during 1888 as a "mere wreck of its former self", and even the powerful Carisbrook CC

³⁷. OCA, Annual Report, 1887; *Otago Daily Times*, 3 October 1887, p.3; 10 October 1887, p.3.

³⁸. OCA, Committee Minutes, 7 November 1891, 30 September 1892. As late as 1913 complaints were still being voiced about the lack of grounds in North Dunedin, See for example, *Otago Witness*, 25 October 1911, p.60; 22 October 1913, p.53.

TABLE: 7.1
CRICKET MATCHES REPORTED IN THE
OTAGO DAILY TIMES 1882-83/1888-89

	1882-83	1888-89
Albert	30	-
Albion	31	35
Andersons Bay	6	-
Britannia	8	-
Cambrians	5	-
Carisbrook	49	25
Civil Service	38	-
Colonists	6	-
Dunedin	43	-
Edendale	-	18
Eglinton	13	-
Excelsior (new)	-	18
Excelsior	39	-
Ferguson & Mitchell	13	-
Grange	16	30
Holyrood	6	-
Inglewood	6	-
Insurance	8	-
Kaikorai	22	-
North Dunedin	11	-
NZ Clothing Factory	8	-
Otago High School	8	11
Phoenix	-	36
Port Chalmers	7	18
Press Club	7	-
Privateers	9	-
Roslyn	38	-
Sargoods	25	-
Southern	15	-
Standard	7	-
Taieri	17	7
Wanderers	-	28
Warehousemen	-	40
Waverley	36	-
Zealandia	13	-

Less than 5 games:

1882-3.

Annual, Albany St School, Carlton, Caversham Tannery, Clyde, Coombs Tannery, Dunotter, Farquhar's Tannery, Fire Brigade, George St School, Hayman & Co, Hillside Workshops, Kempthorne Prosser, Kensington St School, Naval Brigade Band, No.1 Battalion Brass Band, Normal School, North Dunedin Rifles, Phoenix, Portobello, Ravensbourne, Rising Star, Union St School, Warwick.

1888-89.

Opera Company, Otago Daily Times & Witness, Waitati.

Source: G. Griffiths, "History of Otago Cricket".

fell on hard times. Its membership declined from 137 in 1882 to 52 in 1889.³⁹

Probably the conflict in Otago was inevitable. There was simply not enough land or finance to accommodate the large numbers wishing to play cricket during the early 1880s. But the arbitrary manner in which the OCA initially handled the crisis, and the broader class based tensions which underpinned the respective positions, ensured that the dispute was more acrimonious and drawn out than it needed to be. And the outcome can only ever be described as a qualified victory for egalitarianism. Otago teams of the 1890s showed that there was now a much more favourable environment for blue-collar participation in senior and representative cricket. But many other blue-collar players had been squeezed out of the game during the previous decade.

The Domination of Canterbury cricket by its established clubs was more subtle than in Otago. Much as there were elite traditions to be preserved, there was an equally pervasive view that the quality of the game was always more important than its individual components. The United Canterbury CC clung steadfastly to its elite composition, while its traditional rival, the Midland Canterbury CC, gradually evolved from a working-class to a middle-class club by the end of the nineteenth century. Lancaster Park, established in 1881, followed a similar course, leaving only Addington during the 1880s and Sydenham during the 1890s to carry the mantle of blue-collar cricket at senior level. Rather than expand entry to

³⁹. Griffith, "History of Otago Cricket".

the Christchurch senior competition, the tendency of the CCA was to invite "B" teams from the existing clubs. Yet pragmatism rather than UCCC elitism was the only criteria for selecting provincial teams or the CCA committee after the mid 1870s. Canterbury cricket administration undoubtedly adhered to democratic principles. The only question, in some minds, was whether democracy was necessarily a good thing.

As with Dunedin, there are clear links between the social structure of Christchurch and the distribution of its cricket clubs. In accordance with the original Canterbury Association survey, the best land of inner Christchurch and its closest northern residential suburbs became the preserve of those who could afford the original "sufficient price". In addition, the failure of the Wakefield scheme to make substantial allowance for industry and working class housing, ensured that there was little encroachment on the original elite character of the inner city until the 1920s. Major public amenities and elite institutions such as the Provincial Council Chambers, the Museum, Canterbury University College, Christ's College and Hagley Park were all located to the north-west of the central city.⁴⁰ Hagley Park, which had been designated as a public reserve in the original survey, was home to the UCCC and its predecessors from 1851. The MCCC also based itself there from the early 1870s. The white-collar character of the UCCC, and the MCCC by the turn of the century, suggests that both clubs drew the majority of their membership from the established and wealthier inner city residential suburbs.

⁴⁰. E.W. Plumridge, "Labour in Christchurch: Community and Consciousness, 1914-1919", MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1979, pp.3-4,8.

The UCCC of the late 1870s continued very much in the manner of its predecessor. In addition to usual complements from the Cotterill, Harman and Ollivier cricketing dynasties, the XI of 1880 included Charles Corfe, Headmaster of Christ's College, William Pember Reeves, soon to be a leading Liberal politician and newspaper editor, and E.C.J. Stevens, politician, and prosperous estate agent. Only David Ashby, a miller and undoubtedly the best all-round cricketer in Canterbury, could be described as anything other than white-collar. By 1889 he had transferred to the MCCC - a club which was gradually evolving from blue-collar to low white-collar membership. The UCCC XI of 1884-85 contained at least nine Christ's College Old Boys,⁴¹ while that of 1890 was dominated by young clerks such as the Harman brothers who were soon to establish themselves prominently in the public life of Christchurch. The fifteen players who appeared in the senior team during the 1899-1900 season comprised five solicitors and a law clerk, four bank officers, an estate agent, journalist, secretary, schoolmaster and clerk. The last named was Arthur Sims - one of the most significant benefactors of New Zealand cricket during the twentieth century.⁴²

The MCCC, which evolved from the trades based Albion CC of the 1860s, was beginning to alter its composition by the late 1870s and lost nothing by comparison with the UCCC in terms of playing strength. The team of 1880 included a bricklayer, carpenter, draper, salesman, two minor clerks and

⁴¹. *Christ's College Sports Register*, June 1885, *passim*.

⁴². Occupational Survey. Canterbury: 1879-80: 4 clubs, 53 players, 31 traced, 58.4%; 1889-90, 4 clubs, 54 players, 38 traced, 70.4%; 1899-1900, 4 clubs, 58 players, 42 traced, 72.4%.

George Watson - Canterbury's best batsman and a master at Christ's College. A decade later the senior team included two bootmakers, a clerk, a compositor, a miller and a telegraphist - all of them Canterbury representatives. By the turn of the century, they had been joined by L.T. Cobcroft, a solicitor and the New Zealand captain on the 1899 tour to Australia, and Daniel Reese, an engineer and, at the age of twenty, already regarded as New Zealand's most talented player.

The trend towards lower white-collar domination is even more pronounced in the Lancaster Park CC. Formed in 1881 in conjunction with the establishment of the new Lancaster Park ground, the club more than held its own with the MCCC and UCCC in senior cricket. It was comprised almost exclusively of clerks, and especially insurance company employees. But an explanation for this structure is not straightforward. The Lancaster Park ground was close to Linwood, Opawa and St Martins which developed during the 1880s as residential suburbs to the south-east of central Christchurch. Linwood, in particular, was increasingly devoted to cheaper housing for industrial workers,⁴³ somewhat at odds with the low white-collar character of the cricket club.

The one significant exception to Lancaster Park's low white-collar membership was Frederick Wilding KC (1852-1945). A talented all-round athlete who held the English public schools' long jump record, played rugby for West of England, boxed, played tennis and collected numerous rowing titles, Wilding was admitted as a solicitor in 1874 and arrived in Christchurch in 1879. A regular member of the Canterbury XI

⁴³. Plumridge, *op. cit.*, p.13.

1882-1902, he represented New Zealand in 1896-7, as well as winning several New Zealand tennis titles 1887-95. As an administrator, he served the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association, was three times President of the New Zealand Cricket Council, President of the CCA 1907-23 and of the Lancaster Park CC from 1904-45.⁴⁴ His involvement with Lancaster Park was most likely linked to his residence in a prestigious pocket of nearby Opawa.

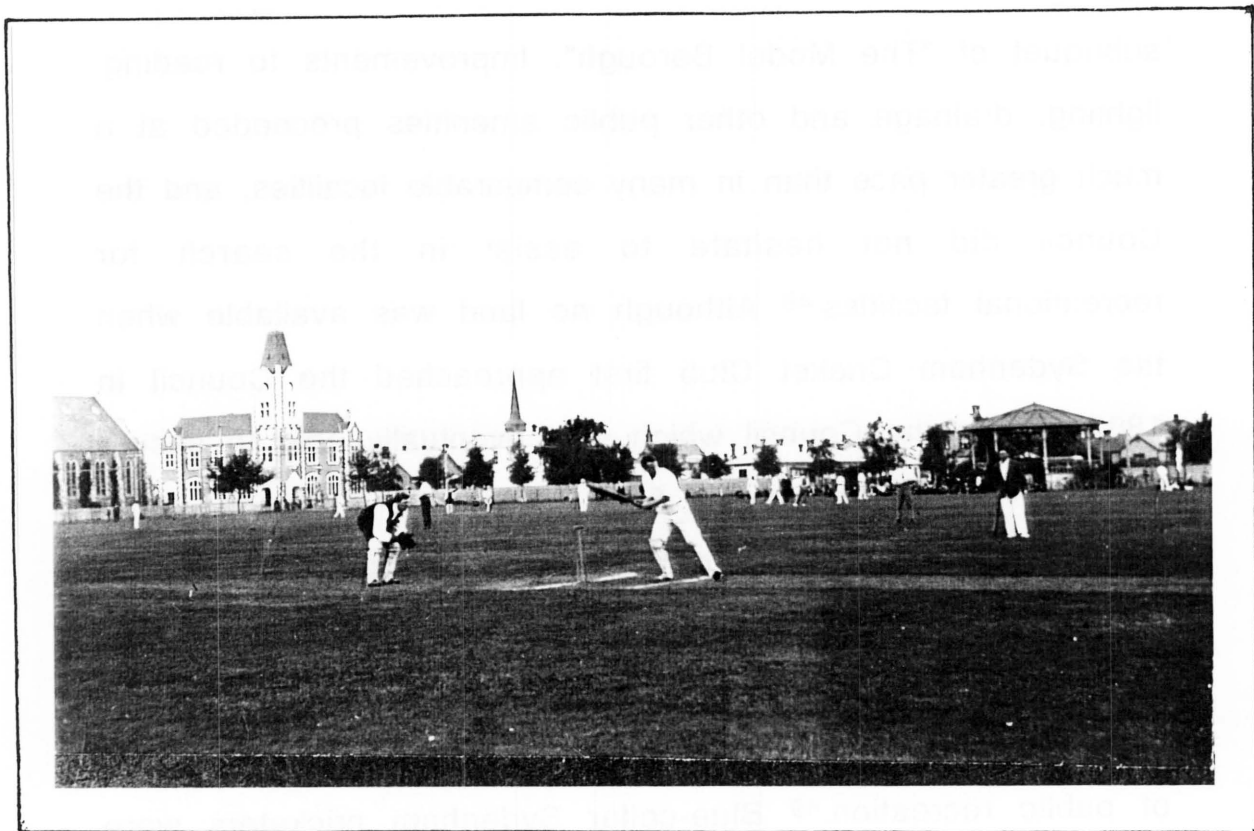
The rapid expansion of Christchurch during the late 1870s and '80s is clearly reflected in the growth of its blue-collar cricket. Among the multitude of new suburban clubs the most important were Christchurch and Woolston during the late 1870s, Addington during the 1880s and Sydenham from the mid 1890s.⁴⁵ All were located within the identifiably industrial areas to the south and east of the central city.

From the 1860s Woolston industrialised on a small scale along the water transport route of the Heathcote River. During the 1870s growth shifted to Sydenham, south of the recently established railway to the Port of Lyttelton, and then westward to Addington by 1900.⁴⁶ Originally taken up by former Lancashire Cotton operatives and other working men during the 1860s, Sydenham at the turn of the century was perhaps the most densely populated and industrialised suburb in New Zealand. Its residents were almost exclusively wage earners, with only a very few employers still living in the area

⁴⁴. *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.576-7.

⁴⁵. Minor clubs in Christchurch and surrounding districts during the 1880s and '90s included Bakers, Cust, Excelsior, Fendalton, Hagley Park, Merivale, Lincoln, New Brighton, Papanui, Rangiora, Riccarton, St Albans, Southbridge, Sunnyside, Veterans, Warehousemen.

⁴⁶. Plumridge, *op. cit.*, p.9.



Cricket at Sydenham Park, 1914. Unlike many working-class suburbs, Sydenham - the "Model Borough" - established good public recreational facilities during the 1890s. (Canterbury Museum: Ref.1607)

by 1914.⁴⁷

But, in some respects, Sydenham was not a typical industrial suburb. Under the guidance of a very progressive Borough Council, established in 1877, it soon enjoyed the sobriquet of "The Model Borough". Improvements to roading, lighting, drainage and other public amenities proceeded at a much greater pace than in many comparable localities, and the Council did not hesitate to assist in the search for recreational facilities.⁴⁸ Although no land was available when the Sydenham Cricket Club first approached the Council in 1883, it was the Council which was eventually able to secure Sydenham Park from the A & P Association during the early 1890s. With the help of William Rolleston, MHR, the Association was persuaded to part with its land at a reduced price, and the Government provided a subsidy to the Sydenham Borough Council on the basis that the land was for the purpose of public recreation.⁴⁹ Blue-collar Sydenham cricketers were thus much better provided for than their counterparts in Dunedin.

Of the Christchurch and Woolston clubs little can be determined other than the appearance of some of their players in MCCC and Addington teams during the 1880s. The Addington team of 1890 was an unusual mix. Along with carpenters, clerks, an upholsterer and a storeman, it also included J.A. Caygill, solicitor, and E.C.J. Stevens. Already in his early 50s, and retired from interprovincial cricket, one suspects that

⁴⁷. Ibid, pp.8-10; J.P. Morrison, *The Evolution of a City*, Christchurch, 1948, pp.65-70.

⁴⁸. S. Mann, ed, *Sydenham: The Model Borough of Old Christchurch*, Christchurch, 1977, pp.19-33.

⁴⁹. Ibid, pp.63-4.

Stevens was acting as something of a mentor to a relatively new club.

In occupational terms the Sydenham club reflected its community. The regular players of 1900 included a bootmaker, carpenter, cabinetmaker, clerk, clicker, labourer, painter, plasterer and warehouseman. Yet it was a club possessed of influence and no little playing ability. At least five members of the 1900 senior team played for Canterbury during the next few seasons, and two, John Fowke and Tom Reese, were elected to the CCA. Reese, who later entered into a prosperous business partnership with his brother, Daniel, compiled the two volume history *New Zealand Cricket* - a monumental record of the game from 1840 to 1936.

Certainly there is ample evidence of social and residential stratification among Christchurch cricket clubs. Elite domination of the Canterbury Cricket Association is equally apparent. While the OCA had in part been formed as a prelude to the visit of Lillywhite's England team in 1877, the formation of the CCA was, in some respects, a reaction to the tour. Although Canterbury performed very creditably against the tourists, losing by only 24 runs, it was generally felt that the 1876-77 season had been marred by apathy, disorganisation and jealousies between the United and Midland clubs.⁵⁰ Against this background, E.C.J. Stevens initiated several meetings which led to the formation of a cricket association in June 1877. Above all, Stevens felt that by bringing representatives from all clubs together the

⁵⁰. *The Press*, 11 May 1877, p.3.

Association would counter antagonism caused by UCCC control of grounds and of the workings of the interprovincial match committee. He confidently predicted that the Association would foster a provincial standard comparable to that of the Australian colonies.⁵¹ Within a year these predictions had been vindicated as a Canterbury XV defeated an Australian XI by six wickets.

The first four presidents of the CCA, H.P. Lance, 1877-78, E.C.J. Stevens, 1878-84, W.H. Wynn Williams 1884-1902 and A.E.G. Rhodes, 1902-07 were all MHR's. They were followed by Frederick Wilding, 1907-23. Among the secretaries, Thomas Condell, 1878-90, was a Master at Christ's College, 1867-93, before embarking on a successful business career. His successors, T.D. Harman, 1890-96, a solicitor, and F.C. Raphael, 1896-1902, a successful estate agent, were to have a prominent role in the formation of the New Zealand Cricket Council. Among leading committee members were Canterbury representatives such as J.A. Caygill and W.C.H. Wigley, both solicitors, A.M. Ollivier, an auditor and accountant who selected the first New Zealand team, John Hartland, insurance agent, George Tapper, accountant, C.R. Clark, estate agent, and T.W. Reese.

Despite this obvious white-collar hierarchy, Christchurch cricket produced nothing during the nineteenth century to match the class based animosity of Dunedin. Indeed, the three most significant presidents of the CCA - Stevens, Wynn Williams and Wilding - all defied their social status, to

⁵¹. Ibid, 8 August 1877, p.3.

some extent, in their choice of club affiliation. Stevens, although originally associated with the UCCC, shifted his patronage to Addington during the 1890s. Wynn Williams was president of the MCCC from the early 1870s when it was a distinctly blue-collar club, and Wilding remained with Lancaster Park throughout his career. To these men it seems, the development of good cricket was of far greater importance than preserving any distinctions of class or status.

Nor did Christchurch suffer the problems of space endemic to Dunedin. There were established and secure facilities at Hagley Park, Lancaster Park and, later, Sydenham Park, and a general abundance of flat land. The collective influence of Canterbury cricketers from 1850 onwards ensured that the prevailing concern was less a matter of finding suitable grounds, as improving those they had.

When animosity did develop in Christchurch cricket it came from above rather than below. The resistance of the long established and white-collar UCCC and MCCC to District Cricket in 1905 and 1907 reveals that class consciousness was never far removed from the game. But the ease with which the CCA eventually prevailed suggests that the two clubs represented more of a sentimental desire to preserve the status quo than a calculated attack on the broadening class base of Christchurch cricket.

In March 1905, probably under the influence of Charles Bannerman, the former Australian test batsman who spent three years coaching at Christ's College, the CCA initiated a

sub-committee to establish a District Cricket scheme.⁵² At further meetings in early June, Frederick Wilding stated that such a scheme would increase the number of senior cricketers, promote rivalry between them and increase public interest in the local competition. Obed Caygill added that there were certainly sentimental difficulties regarding the long established clubs, but the scheme was a progressive one and opposition to it was selfish and unworthy of cricket. By a margin of 15-5 the CCA formally adopted the scheme in late July.⁵³

Reaction from the various Christchurch clubs was generally favourable. By majority votes, the blue-collar Addington and Sydenham gave their support to some form of District scheme. Lancaster Park, under Wilding's influence, gave a unanimous endorsement.⁵⁴ But the position of the two long established Christchurch clubs, Midland and United, offered a warning of things to come. Perhaps with an eye to their history, the MCCC rejected the scheme outright, and it was only adopted by the UCCC on the votes of its junior members. A later motion to have this decision reversed was rejected.⁵⁵ The general consensus was that District Cricket would be given a two year trial.

After the first season, the CCA had no doubt that it had made the right move. As the 1906 Annual Report stated, "The inception of District Cricket has produced the greatest change that has yet taken place in connection with our local

⁵². *New Zealand Referee*, 5 April 1905, p.55.

⁵³. CCA, Committee Minutes, 10 June 1905; 20 June 1905; *New Zealand Referee*, 26 July 1905, p.50.

⁵⁴. *New Zealand Referee*, 12 July 1905, p.55; 19 July 1905, p.55.

⁵⁵. *Ibid*, 5 July 1905, p.53; 30 September 1905, p.49.

cricket".⁵⁶ But as the third season approached, the UCCC began to agitate for change. At a meeting on 6 July 1907, R.D. Harman claimed that District Cricket had been given a fair trial, but there was little interest in the scheme and all clubs were now happy to revert to the old order. Keith Ollivier suggested that District Cricket had been introduced twenty years too soon and that there were now many incompetent players in the senior grade. Eric Harper, a leading solicitor, added that there had been far more sociability among the old clubs than now existed. Despite some objections from junior members, and accusations of disloyalty to the CCA, a motion to revert to club cricket was carried 15-7.⁵⁷

Critics of the UCCC had no doubt that the central issue was class rather than cricket. Writing to *The Press* on 9 July Obed Caygill criticised former players of the UCCC for trying to make decisions for younger club members. With six senior teams rather than four, District Cricket ultimately exposed more players to a higher standard of cricket, and the social side was a small sacrifice against the improvements that were becoming evident.⁵⁸ D.H. Thomson, sometime Otago delegate to the New Zealand Cricket Council, stressed that the social aspect of District teams would evolve in time. "It is a question really for the members themselves, and if class distinction will only be set aside there is no fear for the social element".⁵⁹

Ironically the strongest criticism of the UCCC appeared

⁵⁶. CCA, Annual Report, 1906.

⁵⁷. *The Press*, 8 July 1907, p.7.

⁵⁸. Ibid, 9 July 1907, p.8.

⁵⁹. Ibid.

under the pseudonym "Old Christ's College Boy".

There are a lot of good fellows in the UCCC, and first-rate sports who always play the game, come what may: but yet one finds also "a heap of rotters" who deem it *infra dig.* to play cricket nightly with men who earn their bread by honest toil Men of the calibre mentioned are not sports in the true sense of the word, but would be better termed social cricketers. If they would accept a hint from me, I would suggest that they quickly acquire part of the Exhibition buildings in North Park and get the front lawns and form a "Rounders club" where their tribe might disport themselves and drink tea *ad lib.* Let us improve our cricket and sink the motives so apparent among the few.

The writer also accused UCCC members of disrupting the St Albans District club and failing to attend practices.⁶⁰

Class was also the primary concern of a rather less sarcastic criticism of the UCCC by "Sporting patriot". He suggested that the old club system had produced strong cliques among Canterbury cricketers and certain feelings of "caste", and "unless one could claim possession of a distinct social status, a member of such a club would feel as much out of place as a salmon on a sidewalk". The advantage of District Cricket, according to "Sporting Patriot", was that it gave an opportunity to any player of suitable ability regardless of his background. It would be unfair to abandon the new club system after two seasons in which it had not been possible to give it a fair trial. One of the seasons had been very wet, the other was dominated by the International Exhibition of 1906-07.⁶¹

In reply, a member of the UCCC coupled the introduction of the District scheme, and the accompanying loss of club traditions, with the spectre of radical unionism which was beginning to appear in New Zealand.

Now ... a socialistic feeling ... a feeling akin to trade-unionism has even crept on to the cricket field, and cricketers are subject to dictation and can no longer follow their own inclinations.

⁶⁰. Ibid, 10 July 1907, p.8.

⁶¹. Ibid, 17 July 1907, p.12.

If cricket is to be a business, and nothing more than a business, then preserve your district scheme and curtail the liberty of the cricketer. If it is to be a combination of cricket, good-fellowship and sportsmanship, then preserve the old club.⁶²

Certainly the traditions of the UCCC and MCCC could not be denied. Having been founded in 1866 and 1870 respectively, they were two of the oldest and strongest clubs in New Zealand. They stood to lose more through District Cricket than many younger, less secure clubs.⁶³

The MCCC presented more pragmatic objections to the District scheme. At a meeting on 14 July 1907, members objected to a suggestion that the two year trial should be extended to five. The scheme was now subject to abuse in that players were deliberately moving between Districts in search of better clubs. Not even a plea from Daniel Reese, the New Zealand captain and a strong advocate of District Cricket, could prevent a motion being carried 14-4 to revert to the club system.⁶⁴

Finally the CCA decided to resolve the matter once and for all by holding a plebiscite on the future of the District scheme - with voting to be restricted to current players from the competing clubs.⁶⁵ A combined meeting of the MCCC and UCCC then insisted that voting should be open to school players and recent players. Further, they threatened to withdraw Hagley Park from use by District clubs unless the CCA arranged a conference to discuss voting procedures.⁶⁶ The CCA stood firm, insisting that it had its dignity to maintain and would

⁶². Ibid, 12 July 1907, p.7.

⁶³. The Auckland United CC (1862) and the United Wellington CC (1868) were the only other clubs of comparable vintage.

⁶⁴. *The Press*, 15 July 1907, p.8.

⁶⁵. Ibid, 24 July 1907, p.6.

⁶⁶. Ibid, 5 August 1907, p.9.

not meet the two disgruntled clubs until their threat was withdrawn. Its position was overwhelmingly vindicated when the plebiscite endorsed District Cricket by 262 votes to 40.⁶⁷ At this point the two clubs conceded defeat, and faded quietly into obscurity.

Feelings did not die completely. In October 1911 the CCA found it necessary to alter the District boundaries to assist the East Christchurch and West Christchurch clubs which were both struggling for members. Shades of the old debate resurfaced as critics claimed that District Cricket had done little to increase the popularity of the game or satisfy players. Before the dispute could escalate, the CCA made East Christchurch an "open" club and pointed out that the real obstacle to District Cricket was a lack of suburban grounds for each club. As long as all cricket was concentrated on Hagley Park, Lancaster Park and Sydenham Park, boundaries between the clubs appeared a little arbitrary.⁶⁸ As Chapter Ten will show, the CCA did not have the finance to develop more suburban grounds.

Certainly there were elements of the disputes in Canterbury and Otago which related specifically to cricket and conflicting opinions as to the best way to use its limited resources. But much more was expressed in terms indicating a distinct awareness of social class. Under these circumstances, cricketing issues relating to administration and player opportunities assumed more dramatic proportions than might

⁶⁷. Ibid, 21 August 1907, p.7; CCA, Committee Minutes, 23 July 1907, 20 August 1907; CCA, Annual Report, 1907.

⁶⁸. *Lyttelton Times*, 3 October 1911, p.6; 11 October 1911, p.6.

normally have been the case. They were now seen by some as being symptomatic of larger, and unresolved, social tensions within New Zealand society.

In both cases some progress was made towards eroding the conservative domination of cricketing traditionalists. The OCA was forced to alter its constitution significantly during the late 1880s, and the CCA defied an elite minority to initiate District Cricket in 1905. Yet this process of change was confined to a rather limited sphere. As in Auckland and Wellington, a large number of blue-collar cricketers in Canterbury and Otago played in suburban and league competitions outside the scope of the provincial cricket associations. Whether this was by choice or necessity, the result was that most were excluded from the path which led to representative provincial and national teams and the domain of publicly visible cricket. The outward face of New Zealand cricket remained very much the possession of the middle-class.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FIRST CLASS MEN AND SECOND CLASS CRICKET COUNTRY CRICKET AND THE GROWTH OF THE MINOR ASSOCIATIONS

Country cricket and the minor cricket associations hold an important place within the fabric of the New Zealand game. Smaller main towns such as Napier and Invercargill established club competitions little different from those in Dunedin or Wellington. Moreover, there was no shortage of English public school old boys and influential patrons to nurture local clubs and guide the various minor associations which came into existence during the 1880s and '90s. One can also identify the impact of gold discoveries, important to cricket on the West Coast, in Central Otago and the Thames; a strong tradition of military cricket, especially in the central North Island; and the influence of a landed elite, particularly runholders in South Canterbury, Wairarapa and Hawkes Bay. What follows is an examination of the most important examples of each theme. It is in no sense a comprehensive account of cricket beyond the main centres.

Yet there are clear limits to the impact of country cricket. Only in Hawkes Bay, with a greater density of population in Napier and Hastings, was support for cricket consistently translated into a standard of play capable of challenging that in the cities. The reality in most areas was

that a small population produced a small infrastructure from which it was extremely difficult to harness the resources to develop good quality grounds or sustain a reasonable standard of local competition.

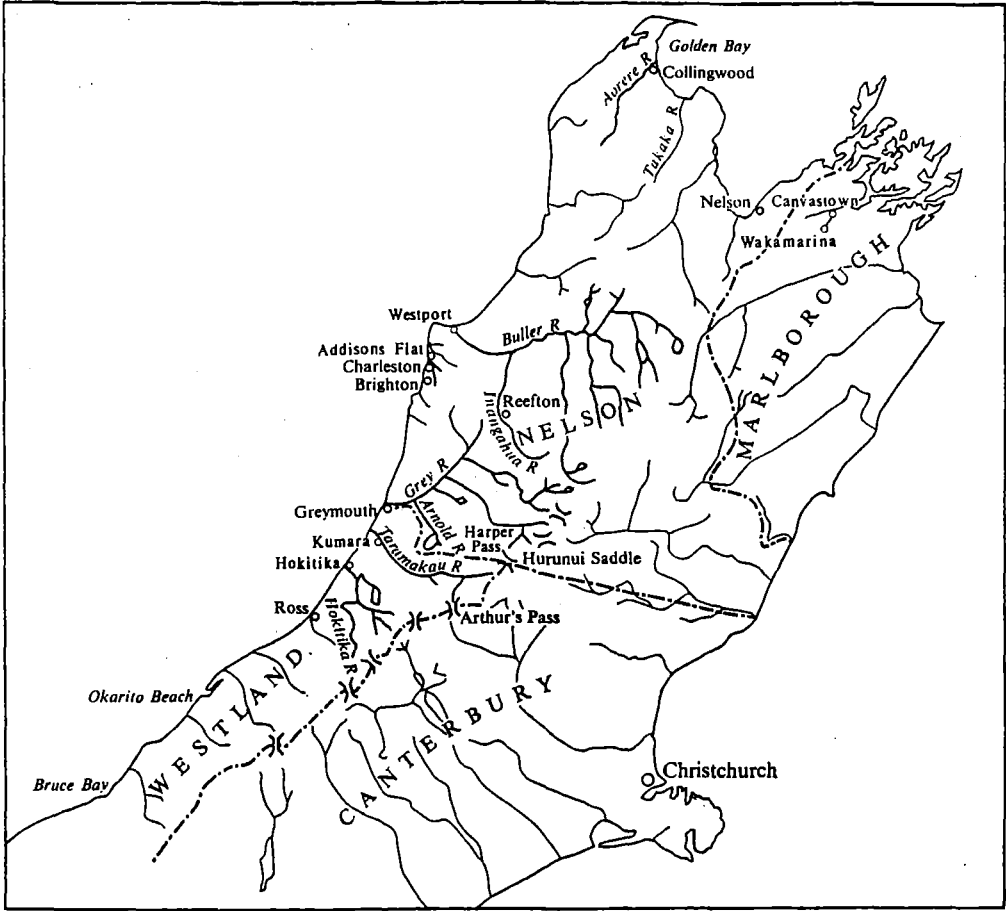
The considerable impact of gold on the revival of cricket in Otago after 1862 and, to a lesser extent, in Nelson and Marlborough later in the decade, has already been discussed. Equally, the discovery of gold in the Thames and Coromandel areas late in 1867 led to the formation of numerous clubs, and several Thames players were included in the Auckland team which toured south at the end of 1873.¹ Gold discoveries on the West Coast of the South Island during the early 1860s also assisted cricket. The Hokitika CC was established in September 1867 under the Presidency of James Bonar, a prosperous merchant, shipping agent, sometime Goldfields' Secretary and the first Mayor of Hokitika. The Vice President was George Sale, formerly of Rugby school, Cambridge and the Canterbury XI and now Westland Goldfields' Commissioner. The Hokitika club played an internal game, "Law" against "District" in November 1867, and then journeyed to defeat Greymouth. Such was the determination of cricketers, that a game between Hokitika and Ross was reportedly played on a pitch consisting of planks placed over old gold tailings.²

Far more widespread and over a much longer period was the influence of the military on New Zealand cricket. As with

1. *Auckland Cricketers Trip to the South ... 1873-74*, Auckland 1874, p.4.

2 P.R. May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, Christchurch, 1965, p.336; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.587.

MAP 8.1
NELSON-WESTLAND GOLDFIELDS



Source: A.H. McIntock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

Indian, West Indian and African garrisons, the regiments stationed in New Zealand during the middle decades of the nineteenth century readily embraced cricket for its social and recreational function. Garrisons were particularly important to the survival of Wellington and Auckland cricket during the late 1840s and '50s. It is no coincidence, then, that much of the central and north of the North Island traces its earliest cricket to the presence of Imperial troops and local militia at the height of Anglo-Maori conflict during the 1860s. In the Wairarapa such games as "Greytown Volunteers" against "Featherston Volunteers" in early 1864 and Greytown against Masterton five years later were dominated by military players, as was the Rangitikei XI which defeated Wanganui in February 1867 and a Hutt XI the following year.³ In the far north, a Whangarei team dominated by military players journeyed down to play Onehunga at least twice during 1867.⁴

Military influence on cricket was at its peak in the Waikato after a large force invaded from Auckland in 1863. A Zingari club was formed in the Hamilton area in about 1864, followed by others at Taupiri and Ngaruawahia. Further north, there was an active club at Opotiki by February 1867 with at least 35 members, many of them military. But most of these clubs had very short lives, determined by the movements of garrisons and the Armed Constabulary which succeeded the imperial forces after 1870.⁵

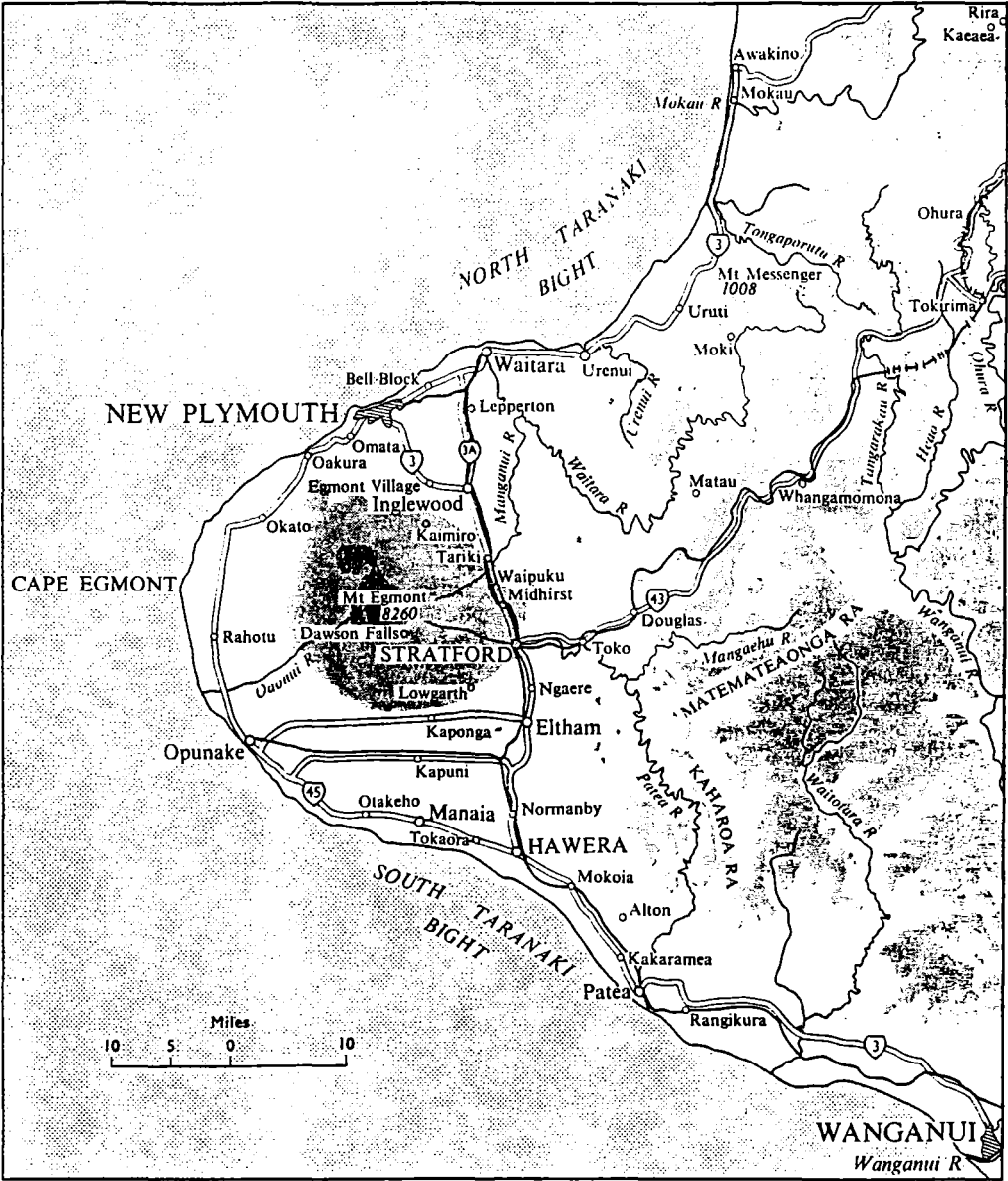
The determination of soldiers to play cricket whilst on

³. A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton, 1976, pp.507-8; *Wellington Independent*, 14 February 1867, p.5.

⁴. *New Zealand Herald*, 11 March 1867, p.5; 7 November 1867, p.4.

⁵. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.584; *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 1867.

MAP 8.2
TARANAKI REGION



Source: A.H. McIntock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

active service may be judged from the lengthy account of a match played during Easter 1866 at Pungarehu, South Taranaki, contained in "Colonel" George Hamilton-Browne's *With the Lost Legion in New Zealand*. According to Hamilton-Browne, the match, played between troopers and bushrangers during the most heated period of the Hau-Hau conflict, was notable as much for the state of military preparedness as for the cricket:

Naturally the players were all out of practice, their dress far from accurate and the pitch - well damnable! But we turned to with glee, though to bat, bowl, or even field, belted as each man was with his revolver and 50 rounds of ammunition, was very trying. Moreover, the fieldsmen had to pick up their carbines when they changed places at the call of "Over", and the umpires held the batsmen's guns.

Hamilton-Browne records that the game was played to a conclusion despite the need to repel several Hau-Hau attacks.⁶

As it transpired, George Hamilton-Browne was an imposter who did not arrive in New Zealand until 1872, at least six years after the events outlined above. He apparently did not see active service, and investigations by the New Zealand Government in 1908 and 1909 rejected his claims for a military pension.⁷ Nevertheless, Hamilton-Browne's account of the military campaign is an accurate one which very closely resembles the career of Christopher Louis Maling - a member of the corps of guides and former Nelson surveyor who was a regular member of the Nelson CC in 1859-60. Moreover, there is at least one surviving photograph of members of the No.9 Taranaki Company playing cricket during the early 1860s whilst wearing pistol holsters.⁸ In short, there is ample room to question the accuracy of the Hamilton-Browne legend, but

⁶. Quoted in D. & P. Neely, *The Summer Game*, Auckland, 1994, p.19.

⁷. *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.191-2.

⁸. *Ibid*, p.192; Neely & Neely, *op. cit.*, p.19.

much less to question the determination of the military to perpetuate their well established cricket traditions in New Zealand.

Indeed Taranaki cricket during the 1860s was very much a case of the activities of a local elite being sustained by a strong military presence. Although there were undoubtedly games played after the establishment of New Plymouth as a Wakefield settlement in 1841, the first recorded cricket in Taranaki was an encounter between "Bush" and "Fern" in February 1855, followed by a meeting between "Bush" and the 65th Regiment a year later.⁹ Over the next decade, and especially at the height of conflict during 1862-3, there were regular matches involving members of the garrison stationed at New Plymouth and later between the garrison and the Taranaki Cricket Club which appears to have been formed in 1861.¹⁰

The majority of the Taranaki CC and the sporadic civilian teams during the 1850s can not be traced. But the heart of the club reveals a familiar pattern within a Wakefield settlement. Most prominent were the Atkinson family and their associates. Harry Atkinson (1831-92), a wealthy landowner, was MPC 1857-64, 1873-6, MHR 1861-9, 1872-91 and MLC 1891-2. Five times Premier of New Zealand between 1876 and 1891, and a long serving Colonial Treasurer, he was created KCMG in 1888.¹¹ His brother, Arthur Atkinson (1833-1902), was a

⁹. *Taranaki Herald*, 28 February 1855, p.2; C. Richmond to J. Atkinson, 13 February 1856, in G. Scholefield, ed, *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers: Vol. 1*, Wellington, 1960, p.195.

¹⁰. *Taranaki Herald*, 7 February 1857, p.2; 22 February 1862, p.2; 24 January 1863, p.3; 19 December 1863, p.3; 13 February 1864, p.2.

¹¹. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, p.22.

farmer and sometime editor of the *Taranaki Herald* who later became a lawyer. He served as MPC 1864-9 and MHR 1866-8. Another brother, William, also played cricket and farmed with the family.¹² Among other members of the 1850s teams were Charles and Calvert Wilson, cousins of the Atkinsons', Richard Lethbridge, Edward Patten and Hugh Ronalds, all farmers and close associates of the Atkinsons'.¹³

Aside from its military origins, Wairarapa cricket also owed much to the energies of wealthy local farmers and runholders. They were involved with the formation of clubs in Carterton, Featherston, Greytown and Masterton during the late 1860s, and initiated frequent games between stations from the mid 1870s.¹⁴ Among the most active patrons was C.R. Bidwill who staged several games at Paiheatua homestead. One of the earliest settlers in the Wairarapa during the 1840s, Bidwill was also involved with the first race meetings in the area.¹⁵ Others who lent strong support to Wairarapa cricket during the 1870s were Thomas Kempton, Greytown's leading publican and merchant, and Henry Bunny (1823-91), a prominent runholder who served as MPC 1864-75, and MHR 1865-81.¹⁶

An even stronger tradition of elite patronage characterised the emergence of Hawkes Bay cricket. The game was first played in Napier in 1857 when a club was formed at

¹². Ibid.

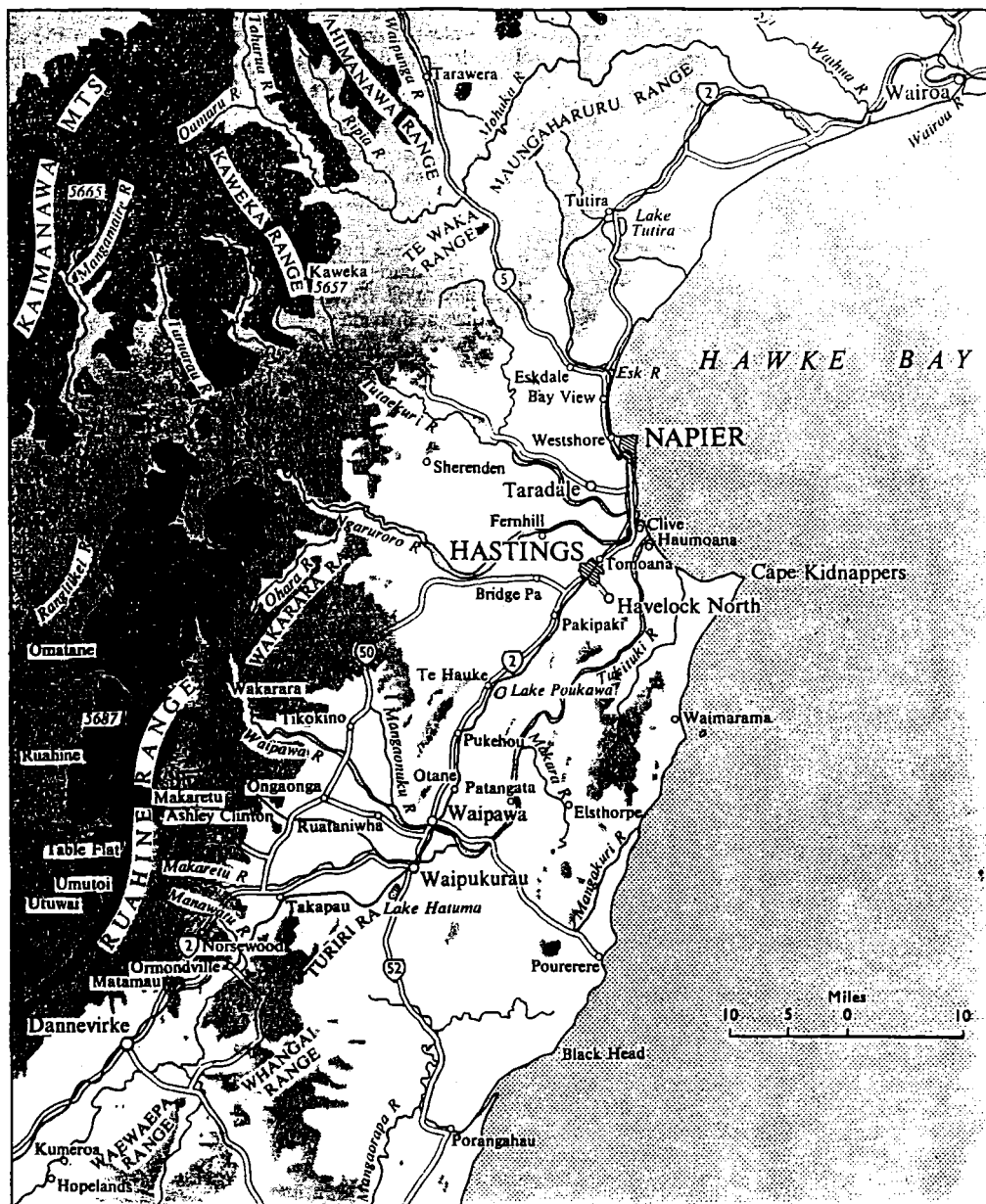
¹³. F. Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson*, Wellington, 1989, passim.

¹⁴. Bagnall, op. cit., pp.507-8; *Seventy Five Years of Cricket: A History of the Wairarapa Cricket Association*, Masterton, 1969, pp.5-6.

¹⁵. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, pp.69-70.

¹⁶. Ibid, p.120.

MAP 8.3
HAWKES BAY REGION



Source: A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

TABLE: 8.1
HAWKES BAY CRICKET CLUB 1867

Traced: 12 of 29 players.¹⁷

R. Braithwaite	run manager
S.G. Brandon	bank manager
W. Britten	publican
J. Cuff	lawyer
J. Curling	magistrate
H. Ford	publican
J.G. Kinross	merchant
W. Routledge	merchant
J. Stuart	merchant
R. Sturm	nurseryman
E. Towgood	sheepfarmer
A. Tuke.	farmer
J.M. Watt	merchant

¹⁷. Sources, *Wises NZPO Directory: 1872*, passim; Campbell, op. cit., passim; M. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, Wellington, 1984, passim.

the Clarendon Hotel. Although this Clarendon CC survived until at least 1874, its career was not entirely prosperous and very little can be traced of its membership. When a Hawkes Bay CC was formed in October 1864, the local press suggested that there had been little cricket in Napier during recent years. The club had difficulty assembling a full complement of players for an intra-club game.¹⁸ Another Hawkes Bay CC was formed in Hastings in February 1867, and although its activities were curtailed by the war crisis of 1868-70, it was able to bring some stability to Hawkes Bay cricket. There were at least fifty playing and honorary members at the time of its foundation, and it boasted a bank balance of £44 by the start of its second season.¹⁹

The membership of the Hawkes Bay CC (Table 8.1), although far from a representative sample, suggests that the club possessed a degree of wealth and status. Club members included Napier's leading merchants, its leading lawyer and resident magistrate. Six players were, or were to become, members of the Hawkes Bay Provincial Council, and another of the Legislative Council. In addition, Braithwaite held numerous local body offices in Napier until the end of the century, and Tuke forged a considerable reputation as a regular army officer.²⁰ Entrance to the club was One Guinea, and the annual subscription Half a Guinea - figures not far removed from the £2 demanded by the United Canterbury CC during the same

¹⁸ F.F. Cane, *Cricket Centenary: The Story of Cricket in Hawkes Bay 1855-1955*, Napier, 1955, pp.11-12; *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 5 November 1864, p.3.

¹⁹ M.D.N. Campbell, "The Evolution of Hawkes Bay Landed Society 1850-1914", PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1972, p.276; *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 12 February 1867, p.2; 7 September 1867, p.2.

²⁰ CNZ, Vol.6, pp.445; Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, p.401.

period.²¹

The development of cricket in much of the rural South Island rests on a similar pattern of patronage and white-collar domination. In North Canterbury, cricket was initiated by Duncan Rutherford of the Amuri who had been captain of the Christ's College XI during the 1860s. With his brothers he established the Amuri Cricket Club in October 1875, which provided the stimulus for frequent matches between Rotherham and Waiau and with Kaikoura. As almost all of the leading players were prominent runholders, there were also regular matches between stations.²² But it is impossible to determine how much these activities reflected a straightforward enthusiasm for the game or whether they embodied more complex relationships of social status and attempted social control between employers and employees in rural districts. Certainly the Rev. W.R. Campbell's response to R.A. Chaffey's efforts to foster North Canterbury cricket is revealing. "Go ahead with your scheme; the men are better playing cricket than two-up, or drinking whisky". At the same time, one suspects that W.J. Gardner's verdict on station cricket is equally applicable. "The pitches were rough, and the bowling ragged; the batsmen had one aim: to send the ball soaring over woolshed or plantation".²³

The beginnings of cricket in mid-Canterbury were a natural offshoot of events in Christchurch. During the mid

²¹. *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 7 September 1867, p.2.

²². W. J. Gardner, *The Amuri, A County History*, Culverden, 1956, pp.242-5; J. Holm, *Nothing But Grass and Wind: The Rutherfords of Canterbury*, Christchurch, 1992, pp.101-5.

²³. *Ibid*, p.244.

TABLE 8.2
CANTERBURY COUNTRY CRICKETERS
1867-68

Traced: 16 of 31 players

T. Acland	runholder
W. Cator	runholder
W. Clementson	clergyman
A. Cox	runholder
C.F. Cox	runholder
A.C. Croft	doctor
A.C. Fitzroy	runholder
C.H. Greenstreet	runholder
C. Knyvett	runholder
H. Knyvett	run manager
F. Mainwaring	clerk
G. Nixon	run manager
F. Pitt	run manager
F. Polhill	runholder
A.J. Walker	runholder
W.C. Walker	runholder
L.C. Williams	run manager

1860s games were played at Rakaia involving "Hills" and "Plains" XI's, Ashburton and Ellesmere, and there were several visits from United Canterbury CC teams.²⁴ Indeed, there is a close relationship between country cricketers and the membership of the UCCC. The seventeen players who can be traced from 31 who represented Hills, Plains or Ashburton in 1866-67 (Table 8.2) include at least ten runholders, four run managers, a doctor, a clergyman and a clerk. Several others almost certainly came from prominent runholding families. While it is probable that a number of so called runholders were more realistically managers financed by sleeping partners, those identified in a cricketing context display prosperity on their own account.²⁵

Alfred Cox, A.C. Croft and the Knyvett brothers have been noted already in connection with Christchurch cricket. Cator was Cambridge educated and possibly a cricket blue. Mainwaring later served a long period as clerk of the Ashburton County Council, and Polhill was a founding member of the same body. Nixon was a son of the Bishop of Tasmania. Williams, later secretary of the New Zealand Farmers Cooperative Association, enhanced his prospects through a lucrative marriage.²⁶ William Campbell Walker (1837-1904), educated at Rugby and Oxford (MA), was MPC 1866-67, 1874-76, MHR 1884-90, MLC 1892-1904 and Minister of Education and Immigration 1896-1903 in the Seddon Ministry.²⁷

The earliest cricket in South Canterbury rests on an

²⁴. *The Press*, 4 April 1866, p.2; 22 October 1866, p.2; 2 November 1867, p.2; 7 November 1867, p.2;

²⁵. *Ibid*, 22 October 1866, p.2; Acland, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²⁶. *CNZ*: Vol.3, pp.818; Acland, *op. cit.*, pp.131,162-3,275,306-7.

²⁷. Scholefield, *op. cit.*, Vol.2, p.453.

equally prominent foundation. A club was formed in Timaru in 1862 and played its first game against Arowhenua on 14 January 1863. Clubs existed at Burkes Pass and Winchester by the early 1870s, and at Geraldine, Temuka and Waimate by 1884. The leading Burkes Pass player was C.G. Hawdon - a runholder and Rugbean, while Waimate owed most to the patronage of Robert Heaton Rhodes Jr and the Studholme brothers.²⁸ Rhodes (1861-1956), of a family who accumulated vast landholdings in South Canterbury and Otago, was MHR 1899-1925 and MLC from 1926. He was created KBE 1920.²⁹ John Studholme (1829-1903), an Oxford rowing blue, was MPC at various times 1858-74 and MHR 1867-74 and 1879-81. With his brothers he owned substantial South Canterbury runs as well as horse racing and breeding interests. They also donated Knottingley Park - still the main cricket ground in Waimate.³⁰

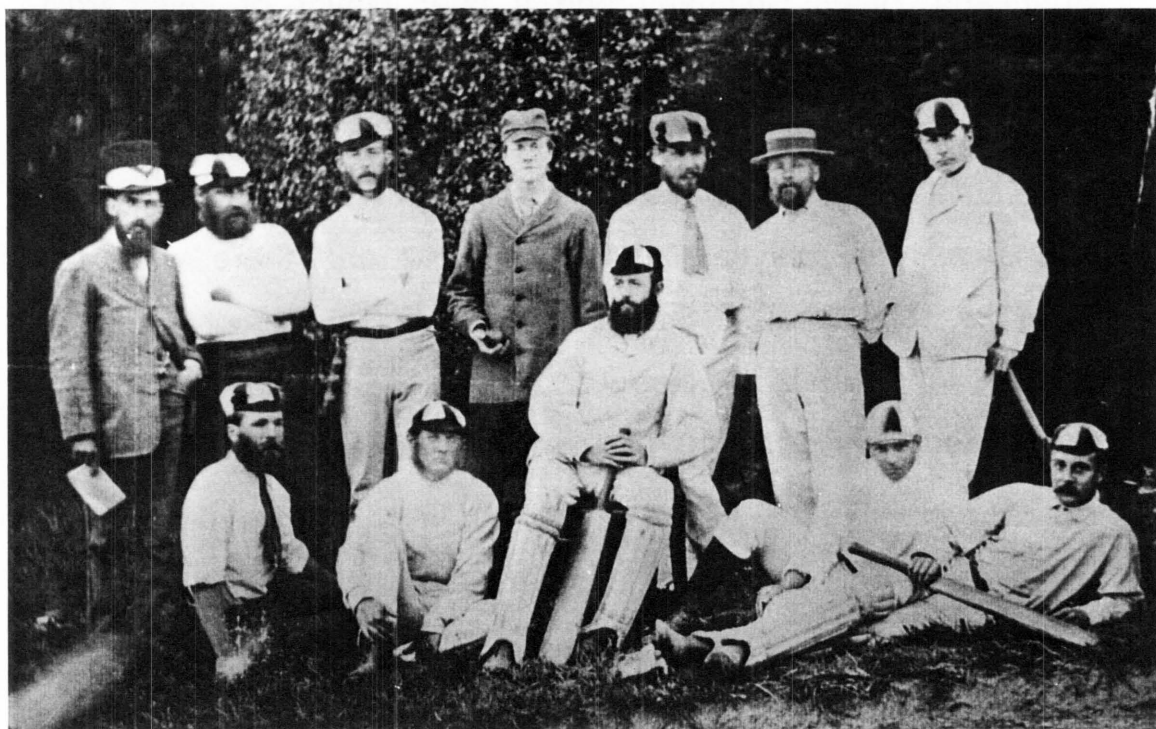
Although there seems to have been no cricket in Southland prior to 1860, a committee was formed in 1861 to initiate a match with Otago.³¹ The venture was abandoned following the discovery of gold in Central Otago, but the committee at least reveals a strong interest in cricket among Invercargill's leading citizens. The President was Dr J.A.R. Menzies (1821-88) one of the earliest runholders in Southland and the leader of the movement to separate Southland from Otago. The first Superintendent of Southland 1861-5, MPC

²⁸ J.C. Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, Christchurch, 1916, p.492; O.A. Gillespie, *South Canterbury: A Record of Settlement*, Timaru, 1958, pp.430-1; K. Ogilvie, *100 Years of Cricket in Temuka*, Temuka, 1984, p.4; Pinney, op. cit., pp.33,39,139. An annual match between Christ's College and English public school old boys was still being played at Geraldine in the early 1950s.

²⁹ Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, p.230.

³⁰ Ibid, pp.347-8.

³¹ J.W.H. Bannerman, *Early Cricket in Southland*, Invercargill, 1908, p.9.



Burke's Pass Sloggers 1871-72. This team of South Canterbury runholders contained numerous English public school old boys and Oxbridge graduates. (Canterbury Museum: Ref.13690)

1861-76 and MLC 1858-88, Menzies was at the centre of Invercargill's social, sporting and public life until his death.³² He was joined on the committee by J.W. Bain, the owner of the Southland Times Company and a later Mayor of Invercargill, W.H. Calder, a prominent merchant who was MPC 1861-70, and Thomas Watson, the manager of the Bank of New Zealand.³³

Cricket gained a gradual hold in Invercargill during the 1860s. A team played Riverton in 1862 and there were two clubs by 1864 when a Southland team was assembled to play Otago in Dunedin. Regular Invercargill matches were maintained during the 1870s, as was the fixture with Riverton. In 1874 Invercargill embarked on a tour of the Queenstown lakes district, and clubs began to proliferate in the surrounding area. Dipton, Gore, Lumsden, Mataura, Orepuki, Winton and Wyndham all had clubs by the mid 1870s.³⁴

Throughout New Zealand it is clear that cricket was guided by the same principles which prevailed in Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago. If it was possible to conduct a detailed analysis of the social origins of many of the isolated village and station teams whose activities went unreported by the press, it is likely to be the case that a shortage of available players necessitated some mixing of social classes. If so, this egalitarianism was not translated to the formal administration of the game in areas where population was sufficient to sustain competitions and associations. The rural and semi-rural game owed most to

³². *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.287-8.

³³. *New Zealand Directory for 1866-7*, passim.

³⁴. Bannerman, op. cit., pp.9-19.

elites seeking to replicate English social and sporting traditions. Furthermore, as population increase prompted an expansion in the number and variety of clubs, there is some evidence of familiar class and occupational distinctions between them.

In Napier during the 1870s the Clarendon CC was gradually absorbed by a new Napier CC which established itself as the senior controlling club in Hawkes Bay. By 1877 there were at least four other clubs in the vicinity of Napier, including a Tradesmen's CC and a Press CC.³⁵ Further clubs appeared in the wake of the visit of the first Australian team in 1878, including many in the surrounding country districts such as Parongahau, Wainui, Waipawa and Wairoa.³⁶

While not as prominent as Napier, other North Island towns fashioned regular club competitions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1879 Hamilton and Cambridge were combining for annual matches against Waipa County. There were sufficient clubs around Hamilton to establish a regular Cup competition in 1888 - although the competition had fragmented by the late 1890s.³⁷ Six clubs were functioning in the vicinity of Palmerston North during the early 1890s, and in Taranaki both Hawera and New Plymouth provided strong focal points for local cricket.³⁸ Support for cricket in the Wairarapa was particularly widespread. Aside from numerous shortlived clubs, there were more stable tradesmen's teams in Carterton and Masterton

³⁵. Cane, op. cit., p.15.

³⁶. Ibid, pp.17,21; Campbell, op. cit., p.276.

³⁷. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, pp.584-5.

³⁸. Ibid, pp.585-6.

during the early 1890s, and the Wairarapa Farmers Co-Operative Association also boasted a club. At various times between 1895 and 1910 there were also enough teams to justify a Thursday Cricket Association, dominated by tradesmen and workingmen and separate from the Wairarapa Cricket Association.³⁹

The proliferation of clubs and the need to secure and control facilities naturally prompted the formation of local cricket associations. Waikato was first in 1881,⁴⁰ followed by Hawkes Bay in 1882 and a regular procession during the early 1890s. Southland was formed in 1891. North Canterbury (soon to become the Ashley County Cricket Association) followed in 1892, Manawatu, Marlborough, South Canterbury and Taranaki in 1893, and Wairarapa in 1894. Westland also had an association by 1898.⁴¹ Predictably, control of these bodies was almost exclusively the preserve of local elites.

The first President of the Hawkes Bay Cricket Association, William Russell (1838-1913) was a soldier who became a wealthy runholder. MPC 1869-76 and MHR 1875-81, 1884-1905, he was Colonial Secretary, Minister of Defence and Minister of Justice 1889-91 and acknowledged leader of the opposition 1894-1905. He was founding President of the New Zealand Racing Conference, and created a Knight Bachelor in 1902.⁴² But the man who made the greatest contribution to

³⁹. *Seventy Five Years of Cricket*, op. cit., p.9,13,15.

⁴⁰. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.585. The Waikato Cricket Association was moribund between 1895 and 1909. There were separate Hamilton, Waipa and Paiko associations during this period.

⁴¹. NZCC Annual Report, 1898.

⁴². *DNZB*, Vol.2, pp.436-7.

Hawkes Bay cricket was Edward Heathcote Williams (1853-1931) who was President of the Association from 1892 until his death., From a wealthy Hawkes Bay family of farmers and orchardists, and educated at the Church of England Grammar School, Auckland, Williams returned to Hastings in 1884 to establish a very successful legal practice. He was the first President of the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1895, and held the position again in 1913-14 and from 1919-25.⁴³ Beyond its Christchurch base, Williams exerted the greatest influence on the Council during its first four decades. Other prominent Hawkes Bay administrators included A.J. Cotterill, a solicitor, and J.F. Ludwig, a prosperous Hastings jeweller.⁴⁴

The Wairarapa CA benefited by similar influential patronage. The first president was W.C. Buchanan (1838-1924), a runholder with an extensive list of achievements in local affairs. He was MHR for all but six years from 1881 to 1914, and MLC 1915-24, and knighted in 1913.⁴⁵ Among Buchanan's Vice Presidents were Thomas Price, a JP, Borough Councillor and owner of a very prosperous photographic business, E.M.D. Whatman, W.O. Williams and Henry Bunny Jr, all wealthy runholders.⁴⁶ Whatman was President of the Wairarapa Rugby Union 1903-6 and of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union in 1906.⁴⁷

Among the thirteen presidents of the South Canterbury Cricket Association from 1893 to 1914 were five doctors, the son of an English peer, and two of the regions wealthiest

⁴³. Cane, op. cit., passim.

⁴⁴. *Wises NZPO Directory: 1900*.

⁴⁵. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.1, p.124.

⁴⁶. CNZ, Vol.1, pp.893,964; Bagnall, op. cit., passim.

⁴⁷. Chester & McMillan, op. cit, p.267.

runholders - A.E.G. Rhodes and E.C. Studholme. The first President, Samuel Alfred Bristol (1833-1912), manager of the Kingsdown Estate, was founding president of the South Canterbury Hunt Club, the Timaru Bowling Club and Timaru Golf club, as well as being an original member of the South Canterbury Athletics Club.⁴⁸ Rhodes (1859-1922), educated at Christ's College and Jesus College Cambridge, was a solicitor who served as MHR 1887-93 and Mayor of Christchurch in 1901. Aside from numerous company directorships and other public posts, he was President of the Canterbury Cricket Association, the Canterbury Rugby Union and twice president of both the New Zealand Cricket Council and the New Zealand Rugby Football Union.⁴⁹ Among the doctors, J.S. Hayes was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and ran a private hospital in Temuka. C.E. Thomas, President of the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1905-06, was resident surgeon at Timaru Hospital, and Norman Cox was a very prosperous dental surgeon who applied his administrative skills to a wide variety of athletic activities.⁵⁰ J.T.M. Hayhurst, a wealthy farmer and JP who held numerous local body posts, was also President of the South Canterbury RFU 1898-1901 and of the New Zealand RFU in 1902.⁵¹

The earliest officeholders of the North Canterbury Cricket Association, based at Rangiora, were mostly prominent local landowners. The founding President, Charles Ensor (1842-1901), was the first Chairman of Directors of the New

⁴⁸ R. Bowden, *Green Fields of Yesteryear*, Timaru, 1993, p.23.

⁴⁹ Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, p.229.

⁵⁰ CNZ, Vol.3, pp.143-4,991.

⁵¹ Ibid, p.393.

Zealand Farmers Co-Operative Association. His committee included H.H. Mathias and F.P. Fendall, both Anglican clergymen from well established families, J.R. Gorton, a product of Marlborough College who held numerous local public posts, and R.M. Wright, clerk, treasurer and surveyor to the Eyreton and West Eyreton Road Board.⁵²

Given the prestige of those who controlled the minor cricket associations, it is perhaps surprising that they did not make greater headway in breaking the urban monopoly on New Zealand representative cricket. In fact, only five players from outside the four main centres were selected for New Zealand teams prior to 1914. William Robertson was selected from Southland in 1896, having previously played for New Zealand whilst resident in Christchurch. Hugh Lusk from Napier played four matches from 1897 to 1903. Bernard McCarthy of Taranaki played two matches in 1903 and Chester Holland, Taranaki, and Len McMahon, Poverty Bay, played one match each in 1914. It is particularly revealing that Hawkes Bay's 48 first-class matches produced only one New Zealand selection. During the 1920s and early 1930s another six players gained representative honours from minor associations, but none enjoyed a lengthy career for New Zealand.⁵³

Idealism and dedication were no match for limited human, physical and financial resources, isolation and unreliable transport networks. At a local level, the ambitions of many clubs and associations were stifled by a familiar

⁵². Ibid, pp.332,443,464,511.

⁵³. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.590; McConnell & Smith, op. cit., passim.

problem - the lack of grounds. In country areas, especially, there was very little land suitable for practice or play and an insufficient population to generate the funds needed to develop that which did exist. The first ground in Napier was annexed for the building of the Provincial Council chambers, and that which followed in the 1870s was too small to cater for either a high standard of cricket or the safety of the buildings around it.⁵⁴ Finally, in September 1881, a Napier Recreation Ground Company was formed to lease a new ground from the Napier Borough Council. Although the ground was soon developed and remained as the headquarters of the Hawkes Bay Cricket Association until 1913, it also incurred considerable debts. The Company exceeded its budget by £445 during the first year and was eventually obliged to transfer its interests back to the Borough Council. No dividend was ever paid, and investors recovered less than half of their original capital.⁵⁵

Similar problems restricted cricket in the neighbouring Manawatu. Although cricketers purchased land for a ground from the Palmerston North Borough Council during the early 1890s, they were unable to afford the upkeep, and the ground was eventually returned to the control of the Council.⁵⁶ In Hamilton, more consistent cricketing progress only came after 1905 when Seddon Park was established as a permanent ground.⁵⁷ Despite these advances, much country cricket, and particularly that outside the main towns, owed its survival to the generosity of farmers in providing paddocks. These

⁵⁴. Cane, *op. cit.*, pp.11-12,15.

⁵⁵. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.584.

⁵⁶. *Ibid*, p.586.

⁵⁷. *Ibid*, pp.584-5.

surfaces cultivated many things, but not a high standard of batting or fielding.

Equally significant obstacles, especially to the growth of inter-club and inter-association matches, were posed by demography and geography. The relative success of Hawkes Bay cricket owes a good deal to the fact that Napier during the late nineteenth century was the largest borough beyond the main centres. It was only marginally superseded by Palmerston North by 1906.⁵⁸ But in 1891 there were only 34 other boroughs and town districts outside the main centres with a population in excess of 1000. By 1906 this figure had increased to 52. The total European population in towns of more than 8000 people, other than the four main centres, increased from only 2.64% in 1896 to 7.35% in 1911.⁵⁹ In short, most regions lacked a potential pool of players large enough to either sustain strong local competitions or compete with larger city teams.

Nor did most of New Zealand's hinterland possess transport and communication networks favourable to country cricket. Dairying areas such as the Taranaki plains and Southland were served during the late nineteenth century by a growing roading network of variable quality, while the generally drier climate and greater wealth of Canterbury and Otago ensured that they too were relatively well served. But areas such as Northland and the central regions of both islands posed considerable difficulties for travellers.⁶⁰

⁵⁸. Calculated from *New Zealand Census*, 1891, Pt.1, pp.24-7, and 1906, Pt.1, pp.29-31. The combined population of Napier and Hastings was 10,544 in 1891 and 14,048 in 1906.

⁵⁹. Ibid; Olssen, "Towards a New Society", p.256.

⁶⁰. A.H. Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography*, Christchurch,



Schoolboys from French Farm, Banks Peninsula, 1882. Despite the difficulties of transport and communication, there was no shortage of enthusiasm for cricket in rural areas. (Canterbury Museum: Ref.13692)

The difficulty in arranging matches is typified by Arrowtown's journey to Lumsden to play Invercargill at the end of 1895. Despite the match being played at a mid-point between the two towns, the itinerary for the Arrow team was exhausting to say the least:

4.00am	coach left Arrowtown
6.15am	steamer left Queenstown
8.45am	train left Kingston
10.45am	team arrived at Lumsden
5.00pm	train left Lumsden
12.00am	team arrived at Arrowtown

For their efforts, Arrowtown were beaten by 80 runs.⁶¹

Only after the turn of the century did rail networks, especially in the North Island, progress substantially beyond links between the main coastal centres.⁶² Consequently, inter-district and inter-association matches grew very slowly. Although Otago played Southland in 1864 and South Canterbury a decade later, it was not until Manawatu hosted Wanganui at Feilding in March 1894 that a major match occurred without the involvement of a first-class province.⁶³ With the exception of Nelson's visits to Wanganui in 1881 and Taranaki in 1897, and Taranaki's visit to Nelson in 1901, all minor association matches prior to the inauguration of the Hawke Cup in 1911 were between neighbouring teams.⁶⁴ Nor did the Cup produce an immediate improvement. A tournament to determine the first holder prompted Southland to meet South Canterbury in Dunedin and Nelson to tour the lower North Island in 1910-11,

⁶¹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.110.

⁶². Grey, *op. cit.*, pp.27-9.

⁶³. Although Hawkes Bay had not attained first-class status when it played Poverty Bay in 1878-9, it was to do so in 1882.

⁶⁴. Derived from Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, *passim*.

and for the teams in that region to engage in more frequent exchanges. But Southland's tenure of the Hawke Cup produced only one challenge in two years, and the New Zealand Cricket Council was obliged to arrange another tournament in 1913 to prevent the Cup becoming moribund. South Auckland won the tournament and promptly lost the Cup to Wanganui. Only during the early 1920s did a more consistent pattern of matches develop between the minor associations.⁶⁵

Ultimately New Zealand representative cricket came to revolve very much around the four main centres. But it was not from neglect by those in other areas. The runholders of South Canterbury, Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa could display the same English public school or white-collar credentials as their counterparts in Christchurch or Wellington. Yet the elements which restricted the development of the game in the main centres - a shortage of grounds and finance - were accentuated for the country cricketer by the impediments of distance and a lack of concentrated population. No amount of prestige could easily overcome these obstacles.

⁶⁵. McConnell & Smith, *op. cit.*, p.206.

CHAPTER NINE
PERPETUATING THE STRAIGHT BAT
CRICKET AND THE NEW ZEALAND SCHOOL SYSTEM
1860-1914

It is quite evident that the patterns of cricketing development established during the 1840s and 1850s had strong implications for the provincial structures of the 1880s and on into the twentieth century. But once the founding generation of New Zealand cricketers ceased to be active, there is a question as to how the next generation of players, most of them New Zealand born, were introduced to the mores of the game and the hierarchies of the leading clubs. In short, how was the middle-class domination of New Zealand cricket sustained in the face of widespread social change at other levels of society?

Much of the answer can be found in the network of colonial secondary schools which grew from the late 1860s - Christ's College, Christchurch Boys' High School, Nelson College, Otago Boys' High School, Wellington College, Auckland Grammar School, Wanganui Collegiate and Waitaki Boys' High School. These were the institutions popularly regarded as New Zealand's "elite" schools. Nor is it a coincidence that they were also the schools most closely aligned to the English Public School model. By 1914 they were comparable in form and standard with any similar establishment in England. And in

common with their English counterparts, team sport - with its emphasis on discipline, cooperation and conformity - became an essential adjunct to their educational philosophy. Indeed, the elite schools, which contained no more than three per cent of New Zealand's school age population in 1901, made a quite disproportionate contribution to first-class cricket - providing perhaps one-third of all Canterbury and Auckland players.

The schools had quite diverse social and theological origins and varying profiles within their local communities. Yet they were able to fashion a fairly homogeneous educational and sporting philosophy by the end of the nineteenth century. Whatever their stated objectives, their teaching staffs were drawn from the same narrow band of Oxbridge graduates and Public School old boys. In time, these men were reinforced by their own carefully trained pupils and a clear pattern of recruitment from within the existing structure. After six years as a teacher at Christ's College, Joseph Firth left to assume the Headmastership of Wellington College in 1891. Two years later, C.F. Bourne relinquished the Headmastership of Auckland Grammar School to take up the same position at Christ's College.

There were other features which drew the schools together. By the end of the nineteenth century, all of them had adopted the English prefect and house system, and most had adopted a school uniform, or at least a tie. More importantly, every school had established a magazine - within which the sporting and other activities of the school were recorded and

its ethos expressed in articles by masters and old boys.¹

The ideals and objectives of sporting educationalists in New Zealand are best understood with reference to their antecedents in England. Yet there are clear boundaries to the scope of elite school influence in New Zealand. Less than ten per cent of New Zealand males received any secondary education prior to 1914, and a large proportion of these attended district High Schools for only one or two years. The rolls of the elite schools fluctuated, with only Auckland Grammar School consistently exceeding 250 before 1914. Thus it is important to consider what the sporting curriculum offered for the large group who did not make it to secondary level.

The sporting values which came to underpin the New Zealand education system were by no means innovative or original. Rather they were firmly rooted in an ideological shift which overtook the English education system during the mid-nineteenth century. Even before the dubious academic standards and indiscipline of the Public Schools were considered by the Clarendon Commission in 1864, Headmasters such as Charles Vaughan at Harrow and Hely Hutchison Almond at Loretto had conceived an important new role for sport. They realised that organised sport and controlled leisure time outside the classroom was essential to control inside it. Compulsory sport was introduced during the 1850s and quickly

¹. The main magazines were *The Grammarian* (Auckland Grammar School); *Christchurch Boys High School Magazine*; *Christ's College Register*; *Nelsonian* (Nelson College); *Otago High School Magazine*, *The Oamaruvian* (Waitaki Boys High School); *The Collegian* (Wanganui Collegiate School); *Wellingtonian*, (Wellington College.).

grew to include inter-school competition. Schools spent considerable sums on expanding their playing fields, hiring professional cricket coaches and evolving a structure where sporting rather than academic prowess was a sure path to success.²

Symbolic of these moves was the publication of Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* in 1857. Hughes' emphasis on sport perfectly conveyed and created a popular fashion. It showed that what had begun simply as a component of discipline was rapidly becoming an end in itself. Participation in games, and especially team games, could teach boys the principles of cooperation and interaction that would be paramount for life in business, the professions or the military.³ Indeed there is ample evidence to establish a link between sporting prowess and recruitment to the highest levels of public service. Sir Ralph Furse, responsible for Colonial Office recruitment to the Colonial Service 1910-50, made it clear that he desired staff not with superior academic credentials, but with a solid second class honours and an Oxbridge Blue. Nowhere is this more demonstrably apparent than the Sudan Political Service where admission carried such a bias towards sportsmen, that the Sudan became known as "the land of blacks ruled by blues".⁴

By the last third of the nineteenth century the Public

². Holt, op. cit., pp.75-83; D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, London, 1961, pp.81-2; T.J.L. Chandler, "Games at Oxbridge and the Public Schools, 1830-80: the Diffusion of an Innovation", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.8, No.2. (1991), pp.171-2.

³. Holt, op. cit., pp.80-3.; Newsome, op. cit., p.203.

⁴. A Kirk-Green, "Badge of Office? Sport and his Excellency in the British Empire", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.6, No.7, (1989), pp.220-32. Of the 300 members of the Sudan Political Service, 93 obtained Oxbridge sporting Blues.

School system was being carefully replicated throughout the British Empire. Staffed almost exclusively by British born masters, schools such as Harrison College in Barbados, and the leading "chiefs" colleges of India such as Rajkumar College, Rajkot, were firmly dedicated to producing young men who subscribed to the ideals of Empire and to British modes of thinking and playing.⁵ Even in North America, where cricket went into a significant decline after the Civil War, the game was an important part of the curriculum at Upper Canada College - and in both the United States and Canada there was a sustained market for *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.⁶

From the earliest days of formal secondary educational institutions in New Zealand it is very evident that the elite schools tried to operate within these developing parameters. This is not to suggest an immediate and wholesale adoption of the ideal. For all schools there were decades of fluctuating rolls and economic hardship before they could begin to consolidate and expand. But by the 1880s there were ample signs that a strong cricketing tradition was emerging. As with many things in New Zealand cricket, it was most advanced in Canterbury.

By 1860 Christ's College had established its own ground

⁵ Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response", pp.654-5; K. Sandiford & B. Stoddart, "The Elite Schools and Cricket in Barbados: A Study in Colonial Continuity", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.3, No.4, (1987), pp.334-41; C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, London, 1963; J.A. Mangan, "Eton in India: The Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Ethic", *History of Education*, Vol.7, No.2, (1978).

⁶ J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, London, 1986, p.155. See also J.S. Branthwaite, "American Cricket From its Beginnings, Through the Philadelphian 'Golden Age' to its Death", MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, pp.20,22,26.

in Hagley Park. Regular matches were played between the 1st XI and Fellows of the College, and between such teams as "Past and Present College" and "The World".⁷ In the tradition of the Public Schools, Christ's College quickly adopted the House system - as much an administrative device as a framework for intra-school competition. There was also a close relationship between College and the United Canterbury Cricket Club, resulting in the school paying substantially less than the Albion CC for rent of facilities in Hagley Park during the 1860s. The UCCC Senior team of 1884-85 contained nine College Old Boys.⁸

The key to a sustained sporting tradition lies in a succession of Headmasters and Masters who embodied the quintessentials of Public School and Oxbridge athleticism. W.C. Harris, Headmaster 1866-73, laid much of the groundwork before ill health forced his resignation. But it was his successor, Charles Carteret Corfe (1847-1935), who left the greatest mark. Educated at Elizabeth College, Gurnsey, where his father was Principal, he took a BA in Mathematics from Cambridge and accumulated a formidable sporting record. An Athletics Blue, he also played cricket and rowed for Jesus College. Arriving at Christ's College in 1871, Corfe played for the UCCC and contributed some outstanding innings for Canterbury during the 1870s. He was a regular competitor at Canterbury Athletics Association meetings and was still winning titles during the mid 1880s.⁹

Corfe initiated the annual school sports and inter-school

⁷. *School List of Christ's College*, passim.

⁸. Ibid..

⁹. C.C. Corfe, obituary, *The Christ's College Register*, August 1935, pp.93-5.

sports exchanges, supervised the building of the first gymnasium and swimming pool and the development of a new cricket ground. But he was a victim of politicking by conservative elements within the Christ's College Board of Governors, some of whom maintained that the College ought to be administered by a classically trained cleric rather than a mathematician. He was forced to resign in 1888. and turned his considerable abilities to reviving the fortunes of Toowoomba Grammar School, Queensland. Later he undertook various relieving positions throughout Australasia - including a period at Christ's College during the First World War.¹⁰ When Corfe died in 1935, the *Christ's College Register* was unequivocal in its praise of his contribution.

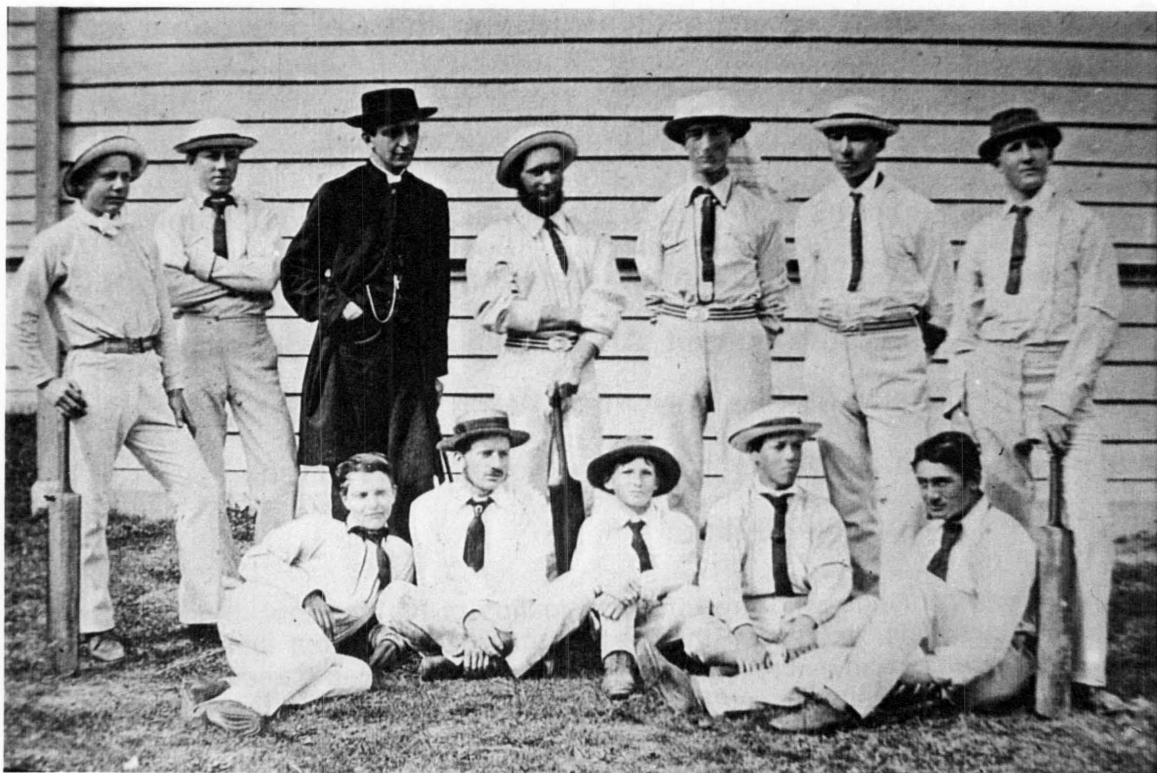
[I]t was Mr Corfe who fired the imagination of the scholars, broadened their activities, impressed their receptive minds and fitted them to take their places in any company of the world's youth. He had a keen sense of his own responsibility, and both by example and by precept he created a similar sense in the minds of his boys. He knew what he was doing when he inculcated in his boys the love of games for their own sake and when he taught them that it was the quest and not the quarry that was important.¹¹

This was high praise for one who had departed from the College in somewhat acrimonious circumstances.

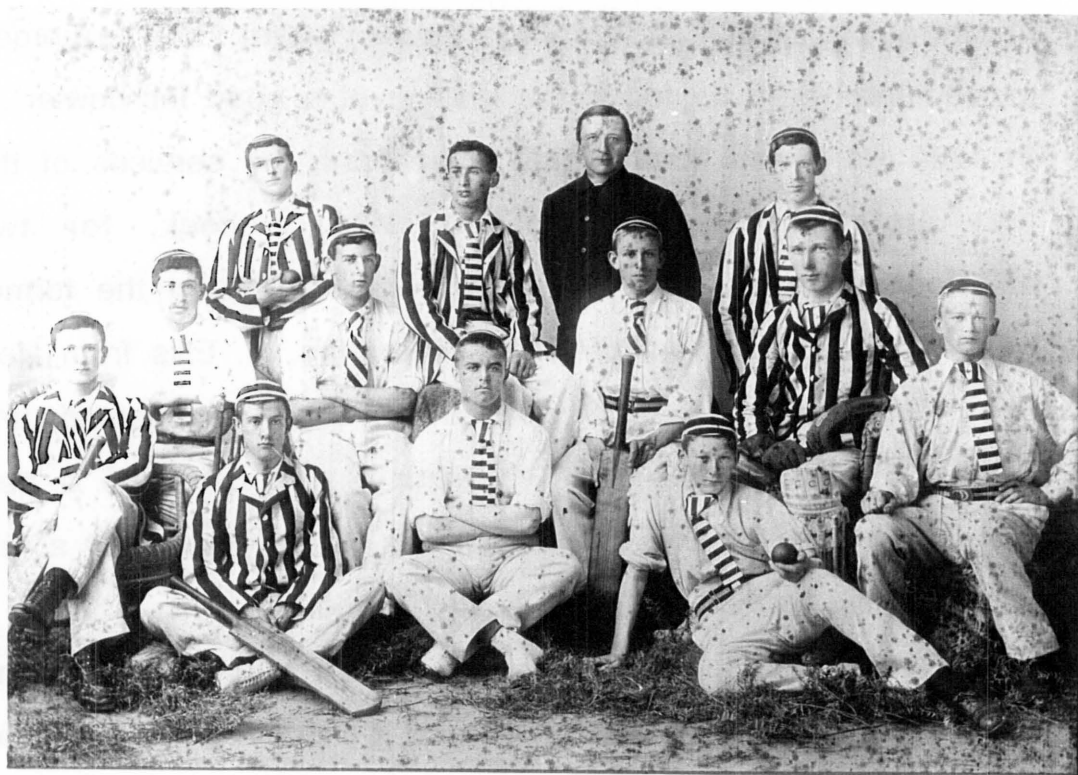
Corfe's successor, Francis Augustus Hare (1845-1912), possessed far less athletic ability but no less dedication to the cause. Educated at St Columba's, Dublin, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Hare came to New Zealand in 1872 as Private Secretary to the Governor, Sir James Ferguson. Appointed to Christ's College in 1877 as Chaplain and teacher of classics and divinity, he served as Headmaster 1888-93

¹⁰. D. Hamilton, "History of Christ's College", MS, passim.

¹¹. *The Christ's College Register*, August 1935, p.93.



Christ's College XI 1879. Christ's College made a significant contribution to Canterbury cricket from the 1860s onwards - providing perhaps one-third of all provincial players by 1914. The Master in this group is Canon F.A. Hare - devoted cricket coach and College chaplain. (Christ's College Collection)



Christ's College XI 1896. In contrast to the XI of 1879, this group wore a distinct College cricket blazer - symptomatic of the many efforts by New Zealand elite schools to replicate the conventions of their English public school counterparts. (Christ's College Collection)

before reverting to the chaplaincy.¹² Hare took the College XI on its first tour to Timaru, Oamaru, Palmerston and Dunedin in 1878 and remained a passionate advocate of cricket. "Season after season found him daily at the nets ... He had peculiar skill in detecting and developing latent talent and rejoiced exceedingly when he found the making of a good lob-bowler".¹³ In 1882 Hare was instrumental in securing the services of the first professional cricket coach, W.J. Pocock, for two afternoons a week. He was followed after 1900 by the former Australian test batsman, Charles Bannerman, H. Ellis from New South Wales, J.D. Lawrence, Canterbury and New Zealand, and various English professionals.¹⁴ Under Hare's guidance a new ground and pavilion were established in Hagley Park and a full-time groundsman employed to maintain them.¹⁵

Perhaps Hare's greatest contribution was the establishment in 1884 of the *Christ's College Sports Register*, a detailed chronicle of current sporting performances and the achievements of Old Boys. It is revealing that the first College magazine took sport as its primary focus, rather than the activities of the whole school. Indeed, it was to provide successive Headmasters and Old Boys with a forum to philosophise on the importance of sport. The issue of September 1884 contained a long letter from William Pember Reeves, future Minister of Labour and New Zealand Agent-General to London, on the subject of "Cricket Practice for Beginners". "A Day at Olympia" in June 1886 provided numerous

¹². Hamilton, op. cit., Chapter 5, pp.9-13.

¹³. Ibid.

¹⁴. *School List of Christ's College*, pp.324-6.

¹⁵. Ibid.

classical allusions in its account of a cricket match between Greeks and Romans.¹⁶ The following year, an Old Boy writing on "The Necessity for Systematic Gymnastic Exercise", stressed that education aimed only at the development of the intellect was incomplete. Physical exercise and organised sport needed to be encouraged among all boys, regardless of ability.¹⁷

The sentiments expressed in the *Register* helped to create a superior sense of "mission" in the attitude of Christ's College cricketers to their role in local cricket. As the *Register* lamented after a mediocre 1884-85 season;

Until the school Eleven shows itself decidedly superior to the ordinary second eleven as still to be met in Christchurch, it will neither fulfil completely its mission of improving the standard of cricket here, nor will it repay the pains and trouble that have been expended in coaching it for some years past.¹⁸

After further disappointing performances at the end of 1885, the *Register* offered the intriguing suggestion that the higher purpose of College cricketers was being stifled by the standards of their opponents.

It is the misfortune, at any rate it is the lot, of a colonial school eleven to have to play for the most part against cricketers who do not usually set them quite the examples of style in batting and bowling which boys do well to copy. In England, the Public School elevens are not only carefully coached on their own grounds, but during the early part of the summer are systematically fitted against teams of batsmen and bowlers, among whom are often gentlemen players of science and repute. Example, says the proverb, is better than precept. At any rate it is more often followed. Now without wishing to speak severely of a style as seen in the ordinary run of second eleven players in Christchurch, it may be safely affirmed that any youngster playing with or against them, will see quite as much to be avoided as to be imitated. Yet it is against second elevens that Christ's College cricket is almost entirely played.

To remedy this problem, Wednesday afternoon matches were

¹⁶. *Christ's College Sports Register*, September 1884, p.26; June 1886, pp.7-11.

¹⁷. *Ibid*, pp.3-7; D.A. Wood, "Athleticism: A Study with Particular Reference to Christ's College", Research Essay, University of Canterbury, 1985, pp.24-6.

¹⁸. *Christ's College Sports Register*, June 1885, p.8.

instituted between the College XI and teams combining leading Canterbury players and aspiring College colts.¹⁹ Nevertheless the XI still finished near the bottom of the local Cup competition on several occasions during the next decade.

If they could not forge their reputation on the field, College cricketers certainly contributed a great deal to developments off it. College old boys such as Thomas Condell, T.D. Harman, Arthur Ollivier and George Tapper were prominent on the Canterbury Cricket Association committee, while the Harman brothers, Tapper and Reginald Vincent, among others, gave long service to the New Zealand Cricket Council.²⁰

By the mid 1890s the sporting facilities of Christ's College were such as to draw a more than favourable comparison from an English visitor to New Zealand. The College Gymnasium, swimming baths and playing fields were as good as any in England. Indeed, "The Canterbury people like to hear it called the 'Eton of New Zealand', but it is Rugby rather than Eton. A leading feature in the school system is the attention paid to the physical side of education, to which the Canterbury people attach great importance".²¹ By 1914 Christ's College had produced at least 57 first-class cricketers - for Canterbury, Hawkes Bay, Otago, Oxford and Cambridge.²² Curiously, the College also produced the first New Zealand team to take the field in England. In June 1885, under the name "Oxford Maoris", a team comprising Christ's College old boys

19. Ibid, February 1886, p.33.

20. See Chapter Eleven.

21. R.E.N. Twopeny, *Pictorial New Zealand*, London, 1895, pp.220-1.

22. *School List of Christ's College*, passim.

resident at Oxford took the field against the King Sutton CC.²³ Whether they played any other games is not known.

Such a sporting reputation was jealousy guarded and threats to it were not easily tolerated. When the Rev. E.C. Crosse succeeded as Headmaster in 1920 he attempted to raise the academic standard of the school and reduce its sporting emphasis. Although he remained for a decade, he steadily alienated the Old Boys Association and eventually resigned due to ill health. His successor, R.C. Richards, was an Old Boy and athlete. A.E. Flower, 1897-1937, and T.W.C. Tothill, 1923-60, were other long term masters who took a considerable interest in sport. Tothill went on an exchange to Uppingham in 1929, after Harold Lusk, Auckland, Canterbury and New Zealand opening batsman, had been exchanged with Rugby in 1913.²⁴

If Christ's College had the strongest sporting tradition of the New Zealand elite schools, Wellington College lost little by comparison. After struggling for its first quarter century, Wellington began to make dramatic progress during the 1890s - progress due almost entirely to a Headmaster who had been trained in the Christ's College tradition of Corfe and Hare. Indeed, as Corfe was at the head of the English generation of sporting Headmasters in New Zealand, Joseph Firth (1859-1931) was unchallenged among the first New Zealand born generation.

Born in Wellington, Firth won a scholarship to Nelson College in 1873 and became a pupil teacher in 1875. After

²³. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.115.

²⁴. Wood, *op. cit.*, pp.20-1,27-8.

representing the school at athletics, cricket and football, and as captain of cadets, he was a junior Master at Wellington College 1881-6, and took 32 wickets in five matches for Wellington during the early 1880s. Appointed Gymnastics Master at Christ's College in 1886, he took a BA from Canterbury College before returning to Wellington College as Headmaster in 1891.²⁵

Before Firth's arrival, Wellington College sport had languished - perhaps as much due to a lack of facilities as a lack of interest on the part of the teaching staff.²⁶ Cricket had been sporadic throughout the 1870s, although a match was played against Nelson College in 1878. Fortunes increased during Firth's first period of service during the early 1880s and there were numerous matches involving pupils, Masters and Old Boys.²⁷ But standards slipped again after his departure, leading *The Wellingtonian* of May 1891 to roundly condemn the cricketers for their failure to practice and inability to put a full XI in the field at any time during the 1890-91 season.²⁸

From 1891 Firth set about raising funds to build a gymnasium and turn the College's surplus of rough land into quality playing fields. He also led by example as a player, dominating the batting and bowling of the XI during the 1890s, boxing with his pupils, and regularly throwing his 6'5' frame into school football matches.²⁹ Accordingly, *The Wellingtonian*

25. DNZB, Vol.2, pp.142-3.

26. H.A. Heron, *The Centennial History of Wellington College*, Wellington, 1967, p.27.

27. F.M. Leckie, *Early History of Wellington College*, Wellington, 1934, passim.

28. *The Wellingtonian*, 2 May 1891, p.5.

29. Ibid, passim.

now found much to admire. Cricketers were praised for their enthusiasm in practice and energy on the field, while "lounging" non games players were attacked mercilessly.³⁰

While Firth valued sport, he valued sportsmanship even more - especially in team games where the right sort of "corporate spirit" could be engendered. As his close friend and biographer, Sir James Elliott, surmised;

Firth aimed at the development of the complete man, and would have placed first, character and personality; second, scholarship; and third, sport Firth looked upon games for boys not only as physical exercise but also, and mainly, as moral and mental training. He had no wish to make football matches and cricket matches a public spectacle for idle thousands; a source of revenue for promoters, and astute gamblers. Mob hysteria which at times sweeps like a wave over New Zealand for attainment of "football supremacy of the world" would have been a sorry spectacle for Firth. He remained all through the days of his manhood a grown-up, game-playing boy, and kept that spirit and outlook.³¹

Yet Firth was able to keep sport in perspective, to view it as a component of the wider education system rather than an end in itself. During a debate on the role of school sport in 1907 he explained the careful balance of his position.

The schoolmaster's work lies very largely in the classroom, and his efforts are directed towards the boys' acquisition of knowledge and still more towards the training of the boys' minds; these things do not, by any means, sum up his work and anxieties, for there is a much more important thing than either - the boy's character. An important means by which to influence the boy in the right way, to get more closely in touch with his feelings, to give him opportunities for developing his individuality and his manly qualities - among which I rank highly usefulness and self-sacrifice - is afforded by school games and athletics. Of course these things may be allowed to occupy too much of the boy's attention and thought - they may be regarded as the only things desirable - but at this school very strenuous efforts are made to prevent play assuming too important a place.³²

Warnings against the excesses of sport may have come less from Firth than from his College Board of Governors. In August

³⁰. For example, *Ibid*, 30 April 1892, p.8; 8 December 1893, p.6; April 1897, p.11; April 1901, p.11.

³¹. Sir J. Elliott, *Firth of Wellington*, Wellington, 1937, p.178.

³². *Ibid*, pp.183-4.

1907 the Board expressed concern at the consequences of College teams playing in club football after a local team had been suspended for its bad language in a match against the College. The Chairman advised Firth that College teams should only play matches against other schools and not against local clubs.³³ The matter appears to have been taken no further.

As much as it was a positive element in the building of character, sport was equally, in Firth's considered opinion, a counter to the perceived evils of masturbation and other adolescent vice.

That Satan finds work for idle hands is an ever present difficulty for the schoolmaster whose aim should be to keep hands and minds busy with healthy occupation. It is true that at times the boy attaches too much importance to athletics, but the danger he thus incurs is a grain of sand to the mountain of danger that threatens the boy who, slack in his classwork, takes no part in the athletic side of school life. His mind wanders, and assuredly it does wander. It does not roam over the clean fields of health and the playing of games, but wades through the garbage of the gutter of idleness.³⁴

Firth had been careful to include his familiar warning against excessive devotion to sport, but there was no escaping its importance as a device for social and moral control. By the time ill health forced Firth to retire in 1920, Wellington College had established a consistent reputation as an academic and sporting institution of high regard, both within New Zealand and among all Public Schools of the Empire.³⁵

One of Wellington College's most frequent opponents from the late 1890s was Wanganui Collegiate School, which established a very similar cricketing tradition. The first sporting initiatives at the school were taken by George

³³. *New Zealand Herald*, 2 September 1907, p.6.

³⁴. Elliott, op. cit., pp.183-4.

³⁵. Heron, op. cit., pp.55-6.

Richard Saunders, a Cambridge under-graduate and talented athlete whose ill health forced him to come to New Zealand in 1876. He presented the first sporting colours, based on the dark blue and black of his own Gonville College, and raised £40 to clear a cricket ground and purchase equipment. Around 1880, Richards took the XI to Marton to play St Stephen's Parish School.³⁶

His efforts were sustained by Bache Wright Harvey, Headmaster 1882-88. A graduate of St John's College, Cambridge and a curate of various New Zealand parishes before his arrival at Wanganui, he was awarded a Doctorate in Divinity shortly before his death in 1888. Harvey oversaw the rapid expansion of cricket, rowing, rugby and tennis during the 1880s, with cricket especially attracting much attention from the local press. An 1883 letter to the *Wanganui Collegian*, signed "Esprit de corps", suggested that arrangements should be made to photograph the XI, as it was common in England to photograph teams who had brought honour to the school. Two years later, arrangements were made for a cricket triangular between Nelson College, Wanganui Collegiate and Wellington College, but had to be abandoned when the latter were unable to travel.³⁷

Sport at Wanganui Collegiate received its greatest boost from Walter Empson (1856-1934). Educated at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Oxford, he worked variously on Canterbury sheep stations, as a banana grower in Fiji and as Secretary to the Canterbury Jockey Club before joining the Collegiate staff

³⁶. A. Sangster, *Pathway to Establishment: The History of Wanganui Collegiate School*, Wanganui, 1985, pp.38-9.

³⁷. *Ibid*, pp.48-9.

in 1884 and serving as Headmaster 1888-1909. He quickly introduced the prefectorial system and placed many other institutions of the school, especially sporting, in the hands of the boys. Indeed, Empson's philosophy is quite apparent from a report to the Wellington Diocesan Synod in 1889, when he stated that "success in sport may not be an infallible test of a school's well-being, but there can be little doubt that decadence in this respect is an almost certain proof that all is not as it should be".³⁸ In 1901 Empson instituted the Loretto uniform of shorts and open necked flannel shirts - soon to become standard in New Zealand schools. He was President of the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1900-01.³⁹

Auckland Grammar School had a sporadic cricket club from its foundation in 1869. But inadequate facilities and the onset of economic depression during the early 1880s ensured that the school failed during its first two decades to develop the institutions typical of an English Public School.⁴⁰ The arrival of C.F. Bourne (1850-1913), as Headmaster in 1882, marked a steady revival. With a First in Classics from St John's College, Oxford, Bourne used sport and extra-mural activities generally to foster what he regarded as a much needed "tone" and "school feeling". In 1885 he persuaded the Board of Governors to hire two good wickets in the Auckland Domain. But his idealisation of the Public School model was not always matched by the social and economic realities of a

³⁸. Ibid, pp.55-6.

³⁹. DNZB, Vol. 2, pp.132-3.

⁴⁰. K.A. Trembath, *Ad Augusta: A Centennial History of Auckland Grammar School 1869-1969*, Auckland, 1969, pp.63-95.

colonial school in which facilities were spartan and attendances sporadic. After several clashes with Auckland Grammar's Governors, Bourne left in 1893 to succeed F.A. Hare as Headmaster of Christ's College - a move he regarded as a "professional promotion" to a school better suited to his English ideals.⁴¹

Bourne's successor, J.W. Tibbs CMG (1856-1924), Headmaster 1893-1922, has been described by the school historian as belonging to the long tradition of "great Victorian autocrats who ran their schools almost single-handed and moulded them to conform with their own theories".⁴² He was a distinguished product of Keble College, Oxford, and taught mathematics at Auckland Grammar from 1885. Under his direction the school expanded to become the second largest secondary institution in Australasia - its role of nearly 700 in 1914 placing it behind only Sydney Grammar School.⁴³ To maintain the "tone" established by Bourne, Tibbs created a school cadet corps, generated new enthusiasm for the Old Boys Association and inaugurated a strong tradition of employing like-minded old boys as teachers.⁴⁴ The playing fields were also significantly expanded and S.P. Jones, veteran of twelve tests for Australia, was employed as coach. There were four school XI's by 1913, and Tibbs had solicited sufficient contributions from Old Boys to initiate regular matches against Christchurch Boys' High School among others.⁴⁵ By 1914 the school had provided at least forty - almost a third -

41. Ibid, pp.73, 87.

42. Ibid, p.96.

43. Ibid, p.132.

44. Ibid, pp.105, 206.

45. Ibid, pp.87, 150, 172.

of all Auckland representative cricketers.⁴⁶

James Drummond (1873-1928), Headmaster 1923-28, demonstrated, as Firth had, that New Zealanders possessed a considerable appreciation of the Public Schools ideal. Educated at Auckland Grammar, where he excelled at athletics and rugby, and at the University of Auckland, he expressed a determination to run the school along the lines of such institutions as Winchester. Like Firth, he had no time for those who allowed sport to dominate academia, but prized it as an essential adjunct. After 1923 sport was almost compulsory.⁴⁷

Cricket at Nelson College can be traced to at least 1860 when several matches were played against town teams. But progress was not consistent until the 1880s, and especially until the arrival of William Justice Ford (1853-1904), Principal 1886-9.⁴⁸ Educated at Repton and Cambridge, Ford was regarded as one of the hardest hitters in England and played frequently for Cambridge, Middlesex and MCC. Before coming to New Zealand he was a Master at Marlborough College, and later taught at Leamington College. A prolific writer on sport during his last years, he compiled histories of both Middlesex and Cambridge cricket.⁴⁹

Soon after Ford's arrival the *Nelsonian* devoted four pages to "Cricket as it is and as it was". His performances as both player and coach ensured a period of prosperity for College cricket which lasted well beyond his brief term as

⁴⁶. Ibid, pp.383-9; *100 Not Out*, pp.209-16.

⁴⁷. Ibid, pp.209-18.

⁴⁸. J.K. McKay & H.F. Allan, eds, *The Nelson College Old Boys Register*, Nelson, 1956, p.537.

⁴⁹. B. Green, comp, *The Wisden Book of Obituaries*, London, 1986, pp.274-5.

Principal. The season of 1893-94 was concluded with a formal "cricket dinner", while a *Nelsonian* editorial of April 1895 referred to cricket as "this manifestation of *esprit de corps*".⁵⁰ By 1901 cricket was under the astute guidance of C.H. Board, a College Old Boy who represented both Nelson and Otago at cricket and rugby and completed an MA at the University of Otago. There were eight school XI's by 1903, and the 1st XI possessed blazers which included a badge with the school colours.⁵¹

Otago Boys' High School had the weakest cricketing tradition among the elite New Zealand schools - due in no small part to the perennial Dunedin problem of a lack of suitable grounds. An XI was active within a year of the foundation of the school in 1863, but cricket had all but disappeared during the early 1870s as players shifted allegiance to the better facilities of the Dunedin CC.⁵² Under Dr William Macdonald (1840-90), a product of Edinburgh University who served as Rector 1878-85, there was a much needed boost to all sports, with at least 100 cricketers by 1880.⁵³

But the prevailing emphasis remained with club cricket. The *Otago High School Magazine* of November 1885 implied a certain loyalty to the Carisbrook CC who allowed the school to use their ground. School cricketing fortunes remained low. The

⁵⁰. *Nelsonian*, Vol. 5, No.3, September 1886, pp.65-9; vol. 9, No.1, May 1894, p.15; vol. 10, No.1, April 1895, p.2.

⁵¹. Ibid, vol. 16, No.3, December 1901, p.96; vol. 18, No.3, December 1903.

⁵². T.D. Pearce & R.V. Fulton, *Otago High School Old Boys Register*, Dunedin, 1907, passim.

⁵³. Crawford, "A History of Recreation and Sport", p.185; Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, p.7.

XI was criticised in March 1887 for its carelessness and lack of enthusiasm. Cricket was not strong in 1898 due to the presence of too many "loafers" among the boys, and it had reached a very low ebb by November 1900. In August 1902 the *Magazine* criticised a lack of spectator support from non players.⁵⁴

In reality, the prognosis was less gloomy. A regular fixture was played with Christ's College from 1886, and in 1896 £80 was raised to develop a new school cricket ground. Under the direction of Alexander Wilson (1849-1927), a graduate of Aberdeen University who was Rector 1895-1906, cricket began to flourish.⁵⁵ From 1903 the school employed former Australian test player Harry Graham as coach - with almost immediate results. They had, however, won only six of 46 encounters with Christ's College by 1934.⁵⁶

Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru, had an active cricket team from its foundation in 1883, and the first issue of the *Oamaruvian* urged compulsory cricket for the following season. Matches were initiated against Timaru Boys' High School in 1886, Otago Boys High School in 1887 and Christchurch Boys' High School in 1894. Much of the credit for this growth is due to Algernon Charles Gifford and S. Gilbert. Gifford, born in Oamaru and educated at Denstone College, Staffordshire, and St John's College, Cambridge, assumed a

⁵⁴. Ibid; *Otago High School Magazine*, Vol.3, No.1, March 1887, p.8; Vol.14, No.1, April 1898, p.8; Vol.16, No.3, November 1900, p.130; Vol. 18, No.2, August 1902, p.52.

⁵⁵. Scholefield, op. cit., Vol.2, p.520.

⁵⁶. *Otago High School Magazine*, Vol.20, No.4, May 1904, p.15; *School List of Christ's College*, pp.461f.

position at Waitaki soon after its foundation. Gilbert, a talented cricketer, was a product of Manchester Grammar School and King's College, London.⁵⁷

After Gilbert's departure during the early 1890s, Waitaki cricket went into decline, but had revived again by 1903. There was always a problem with the development of suitable grounds and with finding suitable opposition within in a comparatively rural area. When the local Oamaru club competition declined after 1907, and particularly during the First World War, the school was starved of opponents.⁵⁸

Under Frank Milner (1875-1944), Waitaki's most famous Rector, 1906-44, cricket again flourished. Educated at Nelson College and the University of Canterbury, Milner was an ardent imperialist and educational innovator, regarded by certain of his contemporaries as the New Zealand equivalent of Thomas Arnold.⁵⁹ Ian Milner vividly recalls both school cricket and the fascination which pupils held for the distant game of England.

Empire sentiment apart, England at cricket, was the father of us all, Ashes in hand or no. A veteran like W.G. Grace was a dynastic figure.... I had my Jack Hobbs of Surrey and England and Bert Sutcliffe, Yorkshire and England.... After I'd straightened out the cream and green-covered mag, which had travelled twelve thousand miles into my hands, the first thing was to see how many Jack had made against Lancashire or Kent three months or more previously.⁶⁰

Whatever Milner's subsequent career as an active socialist, and his implication as a leading KGB agent in the "Petrov Affair", there was no mistaking the imperial and Public School ideology which dominated his youth and his fathers' regime.

57. K.C. McDonald, *History of Waitaki Boys' High School: 1883-1933*, Wellington, 1934, pp.54-5,106-7.

58. Ibid, pp.126-7, 156-7, 205-6.

59. I. Milner, *Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of The Man*, Dunedin, 1983.

60. I. Milner, *Intersecting Lines: The Memoirs of Ian Milner*, Wellington, 1993, pp.49-50.

While all of the elite schools were developing a more or less similar ideology, and there were some regular interchanges - Christ's College and Otago Boys' High, Wanganui and Wellington - attempts to bring all of them into regular contact in the manner of the English Public Schools were less successful. In March 1908 E.H. Williams, founding President of the New Zealand Cricket Council, offered the Heathcote Williams Challenge Shield for competition between the leading schools. The Cricket Council initially proposed to award the Shield after a tournament between Auckland Grammar, Christchurch Boys' High, Christ's College, King's College (Auckland), Otago Boys' High, Te Aute College, Timaru Boys' High, Wanganui Collegiate, Wellington College and other schools to be approved - a category which presumably included Nelson College, strangely absent from the original list.⁶¹

When King's, Otago and Wanganui announced that they were unable to participate in a national tournament, an alternative series of regional tournaments was suggested. This met with a similar lack of success and there were eventually only two confirmed entries for the competition - Christchurch Boys' High School and Christ's College. The former won their match and were duly awarded the Shield in December 1908.⁶² College challenged again during the following season, as did Auckland Grammar, but there was no interest from any other school. When the Cricket Council attempted to revive interest in the Shield in October 1913, it

⁶¹. NZCC, Committee Minutes, 17 March 1908; "Special Minutes", 11 June 1908.

⁶². NZCC, Committee Minutes, 29 September 1908; 12 December 1908.

stressed that only three schools had ever participated.⁶³ Although no reasons for such apathy were ever given, it is likely that the major impediment was financial.

The failure to create an enduring and widespread competitive spirit among the schools is matched by a lack of tradition once cricketers left school. Certainly there were clear relationships between schools and clubs, such as that between Christ's College and the United Canterbury CC, or between Otago Boys' High School and Carisbrook. But only Wellington College appears to have developed a specific Old Boys cricket club before the 1920s.⁶⁴ At the same time, there was little university cricket in New Zealand. In large part this was due to the small number of students, and especially the small number of matriculated (full-time) students. The University of Otago boasted 182 students in 1890, 257 in 1900 and 440 in 1910. The role of the University of Canterbury peaked at 387 in 1891, declined to 224 by 1900, before climbing to 399 in 1910.⁶⁵ As a summer sport, played outside university term time, cricket was not well placed to take advantage of the limited sense of student community that existed before the 1920s.

Under the influence of Professor George Sale, the University of Otago had an active cricket club from 1871. But

⁶³. NZCC, Management Committee Minutes, 16 September 1909; 25 October 1909; *Otago Witness*, 29 October 1913, p.53.

⁶⁴. Both High School Old Boys and Old Collegians were admitted to the Christchurch senior competition in 1923-24. See CCA, Annual Report, 1924.

⁶⁵. S. Elworthy, *Ritual Song of Defiance: A Social History of Students at the University of Otago*, Dunedin, 1990, p.161; W.J. Gardner, E.T. Beardsley, T.E. Carter, *A History of the University of Canterbury 1873-1973*, Christchurch, 1973, p.471.

its existence was sporadic during the 1870s and it lapsed completely between 1879 and 1895.⁶⁶ A challenge to Canterbury College in October 1877 prompted the immediate formation of a cricket club in Christchurch. But much as the members supported the idea of establishing a regular fixture with Otago, the Secretary regretted that they were unable to do so.

They considered ... that in order to give the match a truly collegiate character, the players should be confined to matriculated Students, and they regretted that owing to the fact that Canterbury College then possessed only fourteen matriculated Students, of whom some two or three were ladies, and some three or four others incapacitated through age and other infirmities from actively pursuing the noble art of cricket, they would be unable to place an eleven in the field that season; they hoped, however, to be able to do so in the following year.

By the time Canterbury felt able to accept the challenge at the end of 1879, the Otago club had lapsed.⁶⁷

Although Canterbury College played some matches against Christ's College and Christchurch Boys' High School, it was not until the end of 1907 that arrangements for "inter-Varsity" cricket came to fruition. Canterbury met Otago and Victoria (Wellington) annually until 1914 and an inter-Island fixture was played in April 1914. An informal meeting of university cricketers held at Easter 1911 also resolved to arrange matches involving Auckland, and to invite a team from Sydney University to tour New Zealand. Neither of these proposals amounted to anything.⁶⁸

More important questions arise concerning the fate of those at the other end of the social and educational scale.

⁶⁶ G.J. Griffiths, *Otago University at Cricket: Its History, Records and Statistics*, Dunedin, 1978, pp.4,7.

⁶⁷ *Canterbury College Review*, No.10, October 1901, p.10.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, No.37, June 1911, p.49; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.589.

Without exception the curriculum of the elite schools placed a strong emphasis on the utility of sport, and to a greater or lesser degree all of them served as nurseries for representative cricket. Given the nature of their composition and the white-collar bias of New Zealand cricket, it follows that the educative and recreative values of the schools had a strong bearing on the fabric of the game at the highest levels. Yet this needs some qualification. The number attending secondary schools in 1901 was perhaps 3000 - or three per cent of the eligible age group. This increased to only 25% by 1939.⁶⁹ Auckland Grammar, which always had the largest roll, probably had no more than 350 boys at any time prior to 1900. Wellington College peaked at 145 in 1882, declined to 60 in 1891 but climbed to 140 in 1893 as Firth began his work. By 1912 he had guided 2836 boys through the school. Nelson grew slowly to a peak of 202 in 1908, and Waitaki averaged 196 per term during the following year.⁷⁰ What, then, was the extent of cricketing and recreational guidance provided for the majority of the population during their years at primary school?

The pioneering 1877 Education Act certainly did not neglect the physical needs of pupils.

In Public Schools provision shall be made for the instruction in military drill for all boys, and in such of the schools as the Board shall from time to time direct provision shall also be made for physical training and whenever practicable there shall be attached to each school a playground of at least a quarter of an acre.⁷¹

Although organisational difficulties created an initial apathy to military drill, it was well established in the primary school

⁶⁹. Trembath, *op. cit.*, p.132.

⁷⁰. *Ibid*, *passim*; Heron, *op. cit.*, p.31; McKay & Allan, *op. cit.*, p.156; McDonald, *History of Waitaki Boys*, p.198.

⁷¹. Quoted in A.G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1930, p.13.

curriculum by the mid 1880s. In 1887 a Nelson schools Inspector described it as "a potent moral as well as physical factor in bringing up an alert well-poised and readily obedient race".⁷²

From 1893 the Government made available, free of charge, members of the permanent artillery to act as drill instructors. The programme peaked around the turn of the century, especially when initial British enlistments for the South African War revealed disturbingly low standards of health and fitness. Drill was increasingly seen in quasi-medical terms. If applied correctly it would assist normal physical development and cure physical defects. To this end, many of the exercises were taken directly from the *Imperial Handbook of Infantry Training*.⁷³

The crucial difference between military drill for primary schools, and the Public School ethos of codified sport lay in the type of discipline they sought to create. As Colin McGeorge explains:

One had been originally designed to teach working class children to be obedient to external authority; the other fostered co-operation but also provided opportunities for initiative and leadership.⁷⁴

But one significant disadvantage of the drill system for primary schools was that it made no provision for girls. It was gradually superseded by a "Swedish" exercise programme for both sexes. Moreover, the military onus was partially removed from teaching staff when the 1909 Defence Act merged school cadets under the new system of compulsory military

⁷². Ibid, p.86; C. McGeorge, "Schools and Socialisation in New Zealand 1890-1914", PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1985, Vol.1, pp.244-5.

⁷³. Butchers, op. cit., p.86; McGeorge, op. cit., pp.244-5.

⁷⁴. McGeorge, op. cit., p.245.

training.⁷⁵

Games and athletics in the conventional sense were much slower to take hold in the primary education system. Although the 1885 regulations for the inspection of schools included "supervision at recess", school Inspectors were not strictly required to comment on this aspect, and teachers generally showed little interest. The decision of the Malvern School Committee in 1887 to provide cricket gear for boys and tennis racquets for girls, was the exception rather than the rule.⁷⁶

Perceptions of "larrikinism" caused by children congregating on the streets prompted a reassessment of the wider role of schools from the early 1890s. At greatest risk of delinquency were young children of the urban poor and those who had left school but were unable to work under the terms of the Factories Act which set a lower age limit of fourteen. Among other things, efforts were made to raise the school leaving age to fourteen in harmony with the Act, to strictly enforce the compulsory attendance clauses of the Education Act, and to legislate on the out-of-school activities of children. Various unsuccessful local body attempts were made to impose curfews on children.⁷⁷

Parallel to the rise of the Kindergarten movement catering for pre-school children, the schools embarked upon what Brian Sutton-Smith has described as a gradual "taming of the playground" during the 1890s. School committees began to fence their playing areas and install playground equipment, and teachers assumed a much more active role in the supervision

⁷⁵. Butchers, *op. cit.*, pp.86, 233-5.

⁷⁶. McGeorge, *op. cit.*, p.121.

⁷⁷. *Ibid*, pp.97-9.

of games.⁷⁸ Whereas "supervision at recess" had been largely ignored in 1885, examination candidates for the D and E teaching certificates in 1899 were required to comment on the dictum that the playground is an "uncovered schoolroom". Inspectors began to make more detailed comments on the matter, and the initial requirement to "supervise" became one to "organise". In 1913 the inspection heading was changed to "supervision in recess and organisation of school games".⁷⁹ At the same time the 1912 Amendment to the Education Act formally substituted a physical training system for both sexes instead of school cadets. Under a syllabus issued by R. Garlick, the Director of Physical Education, physical training was to be allocated a definite place in the timetable of every school, and teachers were to be properly trained in its execution.⁸⁰

Responding to an address by R. Darroch to the Wellington Public Schools Cricket Association in October 1911, the *Lyttelton Times* strongly endorsed his call for compulsory school sport and noted with pleasure the efforts that were now being made by teachers.

[U]ntil games are made compulsory in the schools, the self-sacrificing labours of the teachers cannot attain the full measure of the success which will be their best reward. Even in New Zealand, proud as we are of our athletic prowess, the practice of athletics is by no means so widespread as it ought to be. There are far too many lookers-on. They play their part - and a very necessary part it is - in the development of sport; but the enthusiastic "barracker" too often expends his energies in developing his vocal chords at the expense of the rest of his body, while he takes no opportunity to learn the moral lessons which are taught in the thick of the struggle. The preponderance of lookers-on, it seems to us, has been due very largely to the failure of school training to inculcate in the minds of boys and girls a proper love of healthy exercise and in some measure also to the neglect of sport bodies to provide for the wants of the growing youths immediately after their school days were over. Happily

⁷⁸ B. Sutton-Smith, *A History of Children's Play: New Zealand 1840-1950*, Wellington, 1982, pp.43-61, 176-200.

⁷⁹ McGeorge, op. cit., pp.118-25.

⁸⁰ Butchers, op. cit., pp.233-5.

both the schools and the sport bodies have been mending their ways, and the good work they have done furnishes an excellent reason for some official recognition of their labours. Of course there will be strong and weak, expert and less expert players in the games when they are made compulsory in the schools, but it will be the aim of the sympathetic teacher to encourage the children to learn on the playing fields just as readily as in the class-rooms. It is the early encouragement that is needed to fit them for a better part in later life than that of looking on.⁸¹

In the manner of the Public Schools, the advocacy of games had shifted beyond a mechanism of social control to a realisation that they could impart moral benefit and bring prestige to a school.

Large inter-primary school athletic meetings were being held in all of the main centres by the early twentieth century and schools athletic associations were established to administer school sport. Typical of these was the Canterbury Public Schools Amateur Athletics Association established in July 1900. The Association constitution contained strict amateur clauses - including a ban on any pupil who may compete for cash in sports outside its jurisdiction - and it aimed to "remove the suspicion ... that the teachers interest in their pupils is only superficial and ceases as soon as the actual schoolwork is over".⁸² The Association took over the control of primary schools cricket from the Canterbury Cricket Association and established an extensive programme of inter-school athletics meetings. By 1903, 3000 pupils were attending the annual sports at Lancaster Park, in a programme that included 52 events for boys and 32 for girls.⁸³

Rather surprisingly, the *School Journal* lent very little

⁸¹. *Lyttelton Times*, 7 October 1911, p.8.

⁸². *NZ Referee*, 18 July 1900, p.40; 1 August 1900, p.43; 4 December 1901, p.33.

⁸³. *Ibid*, 9 October 1901, p.41; 2 December 1903, p.52; McGeorge, op. cit., p.246.

weight to the prevailing ideology. Established in May 1907, the *Journal* consisted of three parts, each directed at a different educational level up to Standard Six. It was undeniably conservative and a strong advocate of the British Empire,⁸⁴ but its attention to sport is minimal. Part III of the first issue contained a letter from a New Zealand Rhodes Scholar, probably Otago and All Black wing, Colin Gilray, outlining his visit to Winchester School and idealising the self discipline of the English Public School games system. The following year an article on "The Citizen and the State" used an analogy revolving around the duties of sports club members to explain the obligations of citizens to society. Thereafter, the *Journal* printed articles on the history of cricket in 1921 and 1929 and another, "The Game of Empire", in 1927 which extolled the virtues of discipline, fair play and teamwork.⁸⁵

How much emphasis the primary schools placed on cricket compared with other sports is a moot point. It is likely that the expense of equipment and the demands of space and ground quality militated against the game in many areas. But it is equally likely that there were teachers aplenty who encouraged it. Although few Public School old boys became primary teachers, many products of New Zealand institutions certainly did. Moreover, the Teachers Training Colleges which formalised after 1905 encouraged sport among their students and established links with university and local clubs.⁸⁶ A strong New South Wales Teachers XI toured New Zealand at the

⁸⁴. E.P. Malone, "The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology", *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 7, No.1, April 1973.

⁸⁵. *School Journal*, Pt III, May 1907, p.12; Pt III, February 1908, p.19; Pt III, February 1921, p.25; Pt III, June 1927, p.134.

⁸⁶. McGeorge, op. cit, p.248.

end of 1912, being defeated by New Zealand Teachers at Auckland.⁸⁷

There is no question that the English Public School athletic ideal was successfully replicated in New Zealand. In the main centres, and at Nelson, Waitaki and Wanganui, an important nursery was created for provincial and national teams. But above all else, boys of whatever ability were imbued with an ideology which stressed a multiplicity of values for sport beyond individual athletic prowess. They may have been a minority of the population, but they came to cricket in their post-school years as a group of well trained and well connected proselytising agents. In this respect New Zealand cricket could hardly have been better served. Yet, at the same time, there were structural and demographic impediments which dictated a course for New Zealand cricket which was quite beyond their control.

⁸⁷. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket: 1841-1914*, pp.546-7.

CHAPTER TEN
UNITING DISTANT COMMUNITIES
THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERPROVINCIAL CRICKET
1860-1914

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the quite separate cricketing entities that had existed in each province coalesced into a more homogenous form. By 1900 the provincial cricket associations were similarly composed, governed by similar constitutions and administered almost identical club competitions. Fixtures between the major provinces expanded from twelve during the 1860s to 81 during the 1890s and 54 during the six seasons from 1909-10 to 1914-15. In addition, contacts between the various minor cricket associations grew rapidly after 1890.

But the dramatic growth of New Zealand cricket provides a clear example of conflict between Victorian idealism and economic expediency - a conflict which was, more often than not, able to be resolved in favour of idealism. The New Zealand school system had succeeded in creating a native born generation who idealised the moral and muscular qualities of cricket every bit as much as their English counterparts. Yet the game they administered was never economically viable. The provincial cricket associations quickly discovered that high ideals and influential patronage were no cure for crippling financial problems, inadequate facilities and

intransigent local body politicians. In many instances, the associations were obliged to supplement their incomes from activities unrelated to cricket. Any major expenditure on essentials such as ground development, equipment or the hiring of professional coaches was almost certain to produce years of debt-ridden anxiety.

Reconciling the ideal and the reality of New Zealand cricket produced a colonial version of what Keith Sandiford and Wray Vamplew have termed the "peculiar economics" of English cricket. The game was such an essential component of the Victorian psyche that its preservation could, and did, lead its administrators to fiscal manoeuvring of a sort that would have been anathema to the commercial world in which many of these same men prospered. Thus, an account of the struggle for uniformity and formalisation within New Zealand cricket is much more than an examination of pioneering provincial teams and determined administrators. It is as much about the pervasive values which allowed them to keep going in the face of so much economic unreality.

The fiscal impediment was not the only challenge to the ideal during this period of relative growth. Those who welcomed interprovincial cricket during the 1860s as a means of establishing a sense of unity between diverse and isolated settlements, and for reinforcing the fabric of "Englishness" which underpinned the colony as a whole, were to be substantially disappointed. A close analysis of the interprovincial programme up to 1914 reveals haphazard arrangements, antagonistic provincial rivalries, and disproportionate contributions from some provinces - and

especially from Canterbury. In some respects the provincial interaction appeared to become more rather than less difficult by 1914.

The perceived importance of cricket as a means of fostering inter-community relations is reflected in the speed with which the first challenges were issued. Both Nelson in 1844 and Otago in 1848 made overtures to play Wellington at a time when neither settlement had more than a single fledgling club. Unfortunately these challenges arrived during an equally lean time for Wellington cricket and were never acknowledged.¹ The next challenge, from Auckland, began life on an equally uncertain footing. Although Wellington cricket was only just emerging from a long period of inactivity, a challenge in January 1860 was willingly accepted. The *Wellington Independent* felt that "Such interchanges of courtesy are calculated to engender the kindest feelings, and deserving of being on all occasions promoted".² Such courtesy did not extend to firm arrangements, and the arrival of the Auckland team in mid March took their hosts entirely by surprise. On an unprepared ground, with several of their best players out of town, Wellington lost New Zealand's first interprovincial match by four wickets.³ Yet the *Independent* was again encouraging in its review. "The result will no doubt be a wholesome stimulus to all the lovers of this national game, and next year when the return match is played, we may

¹. *Nelson Examiner*, 16 March 1844, p.6; *Otago News*, 13 December 1848, p.1.

². Quoted, *Southern Cross*, 10 February 1860, p.3.

³. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.143.

hope for better things".⁴

In customarily haphazard fashion, it was December 1862 before the return match was arranged. Moreover, its outcome demonstrated the clear differences between Auckland and Wellington cricket at this time. Under the auspices of Auckland's recently formed United Cricket Club, no pain or expense was spared in organising the match. A good, if isolated, ground was prepared at Newmarket. The band of the 40th Regiment was engaged to play and a match dinner was arranged - with a rather preclusive 15s admission charge. As the *New Zealander* enthused, "Every endeavour has been used to render this, in the truest acceptation of the term, a provincial festival".⁵

Wellington failed to match the occasion in every respect. After being dismissed for only 13 during a 39 run loss to Nelson on the first leg of their journey, they succumbed for 22 in each innings against Auckland to lose by 108 runs. Another loss to Nelson followed on the return journey. Auckland critics condemned the apparent lack of "upper class" patronage for cricket in Wellington, suggesting that professional coaching was needed. Further, there was widespread criticism of Bromley, the Wellington umpire, who was replaced during the match.⁶ Nevertheless the final verdict on proceedings was broad minded and encouraging.

We did not anticipate such a crowning result, and although we hope that Auckland may always bear the belt, we would have been quite as well pleased had Wellington given her a harder tussle. We heartily congratulate the conquerors on their victory, expressing at the same time our commendation of the pluck and good feelings of the vanquished. It is

4. *Wellington Independent*, 20 March 1860, p.3.

5. *New Zealander*, 6 December 1862, p.4; 10 December 1862, p.3.

6. *Ibid*, 20 December 1862, p.5.

such meetings as these that are to be desired to abate provincial prejudices, and to beget provincial kindliness. We have much to respect in each other, much to learn, and much to impart. May the opportunities be frequent and productive of mutual good will.⁷

The hope that cricket would lead to greater communication and stronger bonds between the various New Zealand settlements was expressed during many subsequent interprovincial matches. But almost inevitably it amounted to very little. Auckland did not play again for another eleven years - until its groundbreaking southern tour in 1873.

The failure of Auckland and Wellington cricketers to establish firmer contacts is symptomatic of the general state of interprovincial relations during the 1860s. William Fox, sometime premier of New Zealand, aptly titled his 1851 book *The Six Colonies of New Zealand* as a testimony to the isolated and disparate nature of the main settlements. Equally useful is Alan Grey's recent summary of New Zealand colonisation:

After a decade of settlement, the six main settlements, each having a different origin, physical geography and cultural and economic character, were united only by an external and unreliable saltwater highway....There was little complementarity between the settlements and each faced outwards towards the world and its trade.⁸

In so far as it existed, roading was confined to the immediate needs of settlement. There was little by way of effective inland or inter-city roading until the late nineteenth century. Similarly, although Christchurch and Dunedin were linked by rail from the 1870s, the North Island main trunk line, between Auckland and Wellington, was not fully operational until 1909.⁹

7. Ibid, 10 December 1862, p.3.

8. Grey, op. cit., pp.166-8.

9. Ibid, pp.258-9, 333-7.

The only series of interprovincial matches to be sustained was that between the neighbouring provinces of Canterbury and Otago. This is explained in terms of both geographical proximity and the altogether more deliberate approach taken by the influential cricketing elites of Christchurch and Dunedin. As a prelude to the visit of George Parr's All England XI in February 1864, a tournament was staged in Dunedin between Canterbury, Otago and Southland. This marked the first of 56 meetings between Canterbury and Otago during the 50 years until the outbreak of war in 1914. The fixture was always the most widely reported and keenly debated in New Zealand cricket. Team selections were a subject for much speculation, and numerous column inches were devoted to the current play and to results of previous encounters.¹⁰ The intensity of public interest may also be judged from the amount of money changing hands on the sidelines. Individuals and newspapers frequently organised "Calcutta Sweeps" in which substantial amounts were invested on the highest score in an innings or the outcome of a match.¹¹

From the outset the Canterbury/Otago fixture was intended to replicate elite English traditions. A committee composed of E.C.J. Stevens, and H.P. Lance (Canterbury), and John Kissling, James Fulton and Gibson Turton (Otago), agreed in 1865 that the two provinces should adopt the Oxbridge playing colours - the dark blue of Oxford for Canterbury and

¹⁰. For example, *Weekly Press*, 3 January 1885, pp.7-8; *The Press*, 17 December 1898, p.3; 19 December 1898, p.2; 20 December 1898, p.2.

¹¹. D. Grant, *On a Roll: A History of Gambling and Lotteries in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1994, pp.40-42.

light blue of Cambridge for Otago.¹² Explicit emphasis was also placed on the social and political importance of the fixture - not least in an *Otago Daily Times* editorial of 14 February 1866, almost certainly penned by its cricketing editor and future New Zealand Premier, Julius Vogel.

It brings people together in a friendly unformal manner - the very thing which should be most carefully cherished in a society of waifs and strays like that of a colony. It is the isolated conditions of individuals that is the greatest bar not only to good society, but to good government. It unites Otago, for instance, against Canterbury, but unites it in a courteous, chivalrous, generous antagonism. Nor is it a small thing that cricket draws men from one province to another. Whatever our Canterbury friends may think of our climate, let us hope that they will depart not without feeling that they were very welcome, and not without discovering that Dunedin has attractions sufficient to induce them on their next visit to make arrangements for a longer stay.¹³

The spirit of gentlemanly camaraderie and healthy rivalry that was thought to prevail between Canterbury and Otago is in sharp contrast to the tensions between Wellington and Auckland, or the constant bickering with umpires that marred the Nelson/Wellington matches of the 1880s. Canterbury and Otago remained on uniformly harmonious terms. The jubilee fixtures in 1914 were accompanied by veterans' matches between earlier participants, and lengthy press accounts of the cricketing history of the two provinces.¹⁴

With the Canterbury/Otago link firmly established, the next major contribution to the fabric of interprovincial cricket was Auckland's tour to Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington and Nelson in November and December 1873. In

¹². Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.34-7. After the formation of the New Zealand Cricket Council, Auckland claimed prior right to the dark blue. Disgruntled Cantabrians then adopted the red and black of Jesus College Cambridge - the college of C.C. Corfe, Headmaster of Christ's College.

¹³. *Otago Daily Times*, 14 February 1866, p.4.

¹⁴. *New Zealand Referee*, 24 December 1913, p.85. To qualify for inclusion, a player had to have represented his province at least twenty years earlier.

practical terms, the tour did not make a lasting impact. Auckland only played one other game in the succeeding nine years, and the Canterbury/Otago and Nelson/Wellington fixtures did not increase in frequency. Yet by providing a common standard from which all provinces could measure their performances, Auckland served to raise the profile of interprovincial cricket. At the same time, the tour produced a more acute appreciation of the potential of cricket in bringing the isolated settlements together. More than one editorial expressed the hope that cricket would establish common reference points in a disparate colony dogged by provincial antagonism and precarious communication.

When Auckland's southern tour was first mooted at a meeting held on 14 June 1873, it was argued that even a moderately unsuccessful venture would be of considerable advantage in reviving Auckland cricket. To the contrary, critics insisted that any tour should come after the revival, rather than as a catalyst for it. There was only a muted response from Auckland clubs to the tour proposal, and it lapsed for several months until taken up by W.F. Buckland and J. Mumford, two of Auckland's best players. Even then, the endeavour only gained momentum when it became apparent that overtures to Wellington and the South Island had been successful. With Otago guaranteeing £40 and Canterbury £25, Auckland subscriptions raised £170 in six weeks. Cricketers in the Thames goldfields area also took a strong interest, with one, W.W. Robinson, eventually appointed captain of the touring team.¹⁵

¹⁵. *Auckland Cricketers Trip to the South*, pp.5-6; *New Zealand Herald*, 10

True to custom, the team selection was a signal for bickering and complaints that those chosen were not practicing hard enough. For their part, the team objected to a practice match against an Auckland CC XI - declaring that XVI would make for a more even encounter. In response, several talented players who were unable to tour objected to being part of a XVI.¹⁶ The *New Zealand Herald* also viewed the tour with a certain degree of diffidence. It suggested that Auckland was perhaps being over-ambitious in conducting such a major tour. But neither would it be justifiable to criticise those who had put so much energy into the venture. Whether it succeeded or failed was somewhat secondary to the role it might play in bringing Auckland and the rest of the colony closer together.

We are extremely glad to think that it is our cricketers who have inaugurated a series of matches which we trust will be of yearly recurrence. It is by intercourse such as this and similar matches generate, the distant communities are brought closer together, and become more intimately connected in friendly relationship. Auckland from Otago and Christchurch is at this present moment as far distant socially as it is in miles, and if by means of these annual cricketing matches a more intimate social relationship than at present existing is established, the representative team who proceed south today will be entitled to the best thanks of the community, whether they return as conquerors or as defeated men.¹⁷

The focus on both geographical and social distance suggests that despite two decades of dramatic expansion there was a continuing perception of New Zealand as a collection of unconnected settlements in the manner of William Fox's "six colonies".

In terms of playing ability, the initial pessimism of

November 1873, p.3.

¹⁶. *New Zealand Herald*, 13 October 1873, p.2; 14 October 1873, p.2; 4 November 1873, p.2.

¹⁷. Ibid.

many Aucklanders proved groundless. The team defeated Canterbury by seven runs, Otago by four wickets, Wellington by three wickets and Nelson by an innings and 56 runs. The *Herald* happily reported considerable public interest in the matches. Large crowds frequently gathered at its Auckland office for the latest telegraph news, and the victory over Canterbury was celebrated in the streets. When the team returned to Auckland they were conveyed from Onehunga by coach to be greeted by a large Queen St crowd and accompanying band. The Thames players received an equally enthusiastic reception.¹⁸

To the *New Zealand Mail* the value of the tour lay in a comparison with W.G. Grace's team currently touring Australia. While the "amateur" Grace was paid £1500 for the tour, New Zealanders could be content that a spirit of genuine English amateurism had pervaded their cricket and enhanced the quality of society as a whole.

The visit of the Auckland team round the colony a few months ago, and the interest which the various matches played with them excited amongst the lovers of cricket, have had a healthful effect upon the progress of the game generally. Their visit was of a nature very different from that of the now famous All England Eleven in Australia, and the effects have been different in proportion. There, where the conduct and tone of all the matches in which the Englishmen have played have been the subject of not very complimentary allusions both by the press and private persons, the result of a tour which was to infuse an altogether new spirit into the game of cricket, has been to produce a hearty dislike of the mention of the name, which will take some time to wear off, and an ennui in all matters relating to it very different from what the bargaining promoters promised. In New Zealand the genuine love for the game, and the fair spirit in which it was played by all throughout, have made just the opposite impression, and, instead of a relapse, there has been rather a new life exhibited.¹⁹

There is no evidence that the Auckland tour, or any subsequent interprovincial venture, owed anything to the ambition of

¹⁸. Ibid, 21 November 1873, p.2; 4 December 1873, p.3; 8 December 1873, p.3.

¹⁹. *New Zealand Mail*, 21 March 1874, p.20.

TABLE 10.1
NEW ZEALAND PROVINCIAL TEAMS ON TOUR
1864-1914

	A	C	HB	N	O	S	T	W	Venue
Team:									
Auckland	-	10	4	1	7	-	-	10	3 2
Canterbury	10	-	3	-	28	-	1	14	5 6
Hawkes Bay	3	2	-	-	2	-	2	11	2 0
Nelson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
Otago	5	28	3	-	-	1	-	4	4 1
Southland	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Taranaki	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
Wellington	9	14	10	8	3	-	-	-	4 4

TABLE 10.2
OVERALL PARTICIPATION IN
NEW ZEALAND FIRST-CLASS CRICKET

	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	Total	%
Australia	-	-	-	-	4	14	18	6.5
Auckland	-	4	9	20	20	18	71	25.6
Canterbury	6	12	19	32	31	24	124	44.7
Fiji	-	-	-	6	-	-	6	2.1
Hawkes Bay	-	-	5	20	15	8	48	15.5
Ld Hawke XI	-	-	-	-	7	-	7	2.5
MCC	-	-	-	-	11	-	11	3.9
Nelson	-	5	11	1	-	-	17	6.1
NSW	-	-	-	17	-	-	17	6.1
New Zealand	-	-	-	3	6	4	13	4.7
North Island	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	0.7
Otago	6	11	14	23	25	16	95	34.2
Queensland	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	1.8
D. Reese XI	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.4
South Island	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	0.7
Southland	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	0.7
Tasmania	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	1.4
Taranaki	-	-	1	7	-	-	8	2.9
Wellington	-	6	22	27	26	21	102	36.8
W. Coast(NI)	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.4

commercial speculators.

At a time when provincial unity and cooperation ran a poor second to rivalry and antagonism, cricket emerged as a rare tonic. Unfortunately this did not translate into a sustained or balanced programme of matches. Tables 10.1 and 10.2 reveal some major disparities within the fabric of interprovincial contacts. After its 1873 tour, Auckland received a visit from Canterbury in December 1877, but had no other first-class cricket until it toured south in November 1882. Thereafter Auckland visited the South Island in 1885, 1889, 1893, 1901, 1906, 1907, 1912 and 1914. With the advantage of geographical proximity, Wellington and Nelson enjoyed more frequent contact. Nelson crossed Cook Strait in February 1864 and Wellington returned the visit in February 1867. They met on 23 occasions (including 16 of Nelson's 17 first-class matches) until Nelson declined from first-class status after 1892. By the end of 1890 Wellington had also played two matches against the relatively close Hawkes Bay, but had only travelled to Christchurch twice and Auckland once. During the next 25 years they visited Canterbury twelve times and Auckland eight, but did not play Otago in Dunedin until December 1894 and not again until December 1904. Otago did not travel to the North Island until a four match tour in December 1892, repeated in December 1899. In total, they played only twelve matches in the North Island up to 1914 and 56 of their 95 first-class matches were against Canterbury.²⁰

Canterbury, the first cricketing province to tour outside

²⁰. All details concerning frequency of interprovincial matches are derived from Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*. Nelson's only other first-class match was against Auckland in December 1882.

New Zealand, when it sent a team to Victoria in 1878-79, was not immune to the vagaries of interprovincial contact. By 1905 Canterbury had only visited Auckland on five occasions, although the lure of reclaiming the Plunket Shield produced five more trips during the next decade. By 1914 they had participated in slightly more than half of all interprovincial matches and 45% of all first-class matches played in New Zealand. Certainly the Canterbury/Otago fixture, which constituted one-fifth of all first-class matches, ensured that Canterbury played more first-class cricket than other provinces. But only during the 1880s, when Wellington and Nelson met annually, did any province play more matches than Canterbury in a particular decade.

There were several other initiatives, from both the Canterbury Cricket Association and private sources, which aimed to increase the frequency of interprovincial contacts. At the end of 1884 the CCA arranged for both Auckland and Otago to visit Christchurch as part of a "Cricket Carnival". Because of a lack of funds and available players, the Auckland Cricket Association decided not to send a team. But an unofficial representative team was eventually assembled. They succeeded in beating Otago by five wickets at Lancaster Park in the only interprovincial match to be played on neutral ground. Plans for a similar meeting involving Nelson and Otago during the next season came to nothing.²¹ But a "Canterbury Wanderers" team did visit Nelson in 1889 - losing by an innings - and another toured the North Island in 1892.²²

²¹. *Weekly Press*, 29 November 1884, p.10; 6 December 1884, p.8; 20 December 1884, p.11; OCA, Annual Report, 1886.

²². Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, passim.

Given the difficulties at provincial level, there were a surprising number of tours and matches between clubs. Lancaster Park and Carisbrook met frequently during the 1880s and '90s. The former also played Oamaru and South Canterbury among others.²³ The Midland Canterbury CC toured the West Coast in 1891 and established a regular fixture with the Midland CC of Wellington.²⁴ After 1907 the New Zealand Nomads CC embarked on frequent tours throughout New Zealand. Based on the Rangitikei district, this club consisted almost exclusively of English public school and New Zealand elite school old boys who were able to fund the tours privately.²⁵ Indeed, all of the club tours were private ventures and involved well-established white-collar clubs.

When a comparison is made with Australian first-class cricket (Tables 10.3, 10.4), the disparities of the New Zealand game become still more dramatic. Without the frequency of international opposition enjoyed by Australia, the extent of New Zealand's first-class cricket programme lagged well behind from the 1880s onwards. But the limitations on domestic cricket are more striking. Until the end of the nineteenth century, New Zealand had seven provinces active in first-class cricket. Australia, with far greater distances to overcome, had six colonies.²⁶ Further, while New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria had established a regular interchange by the late 1880s, that between New Zealand

23. For example, *Lyttelton Times*, 2 January 1882, p.5; *The Press*, 20 December 1891, p.3; 3 April 1893, p.3; 9 November 1893, p.3.

24. For example, *The Press*, 13 January 1891, p.3; 2 January 1893, p.3.

25. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, pp.105-7.

26. New Zealand: Auckland, Canterbury, Hawkes Bay (1882-1921), Nelson (1874-92), Otago, Taranaki (1883-98), Wellington. Australia: New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia.

TABLE 10.3
FIRST-CLASS MATCH COMPARISON
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

	New Zealand	Australia
1850/51-58/9	-	9
1859/60-68/69	6	11
1869/70-78/79	19	22
1879/80-88/89	43	89
1889/90-98/99	81	111
1899/00-08/09	74	145
1909/10-14/15	<u>54</u>	<u>108</u>
	277	495

* Non first-class New Zealand interprovincial matches: 1860s, 6; 1870s, 5; 1880s, 1.

TABLE 10.4
FIRST-CLASS MATCHES SEASON BY SEASON
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

1859-60	(1)	1	1887-88	3	19
1860-61	-	1	1888-89	2	8
1861-62	-	2	1889-90	10	5
1862-63	(3)	1	1890-91	2	5
1863-64	1(1)	1	1891-92	6	12
1864-65	1	-	1892-93	5	10
1865-66	1	1	1893-94	15	8
1866-67	1(1)	1	1894-95	12	20
1867-68	1	1	1895-96	9	9
1868-69	1	2	1896-97	11	8
1869-70	1(1)	1	1897-98	8	19
1870-71	1(1)	2	1898-99	3	15
1871-72	1	1	1899-00	6	11
1872-73	1(1)	3	1900-01	7	7
1873-74	5(2)	-	1901-02	5	17
1874-75	2	2	1902-03	9	13
1875-76	2	2	1903-04	7	22
1876-77	2	3	1904-05	8	11
1877-78	3	3	1905-06	7	12
1878-79	1	5	1906-07	13	12
1879-80	3	2	1907-08	6	26
1880-81	2	6	1908-09	6	15
1881-82	2	10	1909-10	12	15
1882-83	6(1)	10	1910-11	5	25
1883-84	10	5	1911-12	7	24
1884-85	7	11	1912-13	5	17
1885-86	3	4	1913-14	16	16
1886-87	5	14	1914-15	9	10

* New Zealand

*Australia

() = non first-class inter-provincial match

teams was erratic to say the least.

Why did New Zealand fail to establish a coherent programme of interprovincial cricket before 1914 and thus fail to match the idealism of the early 1870s? To a large degree, the explanation is economic. The single greatest problem faced by all provincial cricket associations revolved around their inability to develop grounds and secure revenue from them. In the first instance the obstacles were bureaucratic. When these were removed, there was still the problem of accumulating sufficient funds for expensive development and maintenance.

The provincial cricket associations encountered major obstacles to their attempts to derive revenue from representative cricket. The 1881 Public Reserves Act enshrined a series of restrictions on the use of public recreation grounds which were disastrous for the expansion of cricket. Among other things, the Act stated that local bodies had no power to lease any reserve which had been set aside for the purpose of public health or recreation. Such reserves could be

enclosed, laid out, and planted, and there may be erected thereon any buildings for ornamental purposes, but not for making any profit therefrom:

Provided always that no disposition shall be made in respect of any such reserve whereby the public shall be excluded from the free access thereto
....²⁷

To cover costs the provincial associations were at the mercy of public subscriptions and donations. With no obligation to do so, the public were seldom very obliging.

The long running exchange between the Otago Cricket

²⁷. *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, No.15.

Association and the Dunedin City Council is typical of the difficulties faced by cricketers. Deputations from the Association in 1879 and 1880 requested that the Council make improvements to the Southern Recreation Ground. As the most frequent users, the cricketers felt that they had certain rights to protect the ground for their own use. Moreover, as the OCA was willing to contribute funds for development, the area should be reserved exclusively for sport.²⁸ Not only did the City Council Reserves Committee reject any move to restrict access to the only public recreation area in south Dunedin, they denied the entire premise that more cricket grounds were needed.²⁹ Such a verdict is clearly at odds with the basis of conflict between the OCA and D & SCA during this period.

In search of a compromise, a sub-committee of the OCA, reporting at the Annual General Meeting in October 1880, recommended a petition to Parliament to give the City Council power to lease. Having collected information from all other cricket associations in Australasia, the sub-committee concluded that Dunedin had the smallest area for cricket and on the least liberal terms. The OCA did not expect the right to exclude the public, or to charge them for admission, but did expect the right to protect the playing surface from other users. Others at the same meeting complained bitterly that the Association had derived no gate revenue from the last five interprovincial matches in Dunedin. But the Council again affirmed its inability to restrict the use of public property.³⁰

²⁸ Tait, op. cit., p.43; OCA, Annual Report, 1879; *Otago Daily Times*, 17 March 1880, p.3.

²⁹ Ibid, 22 September 1880, p.3.

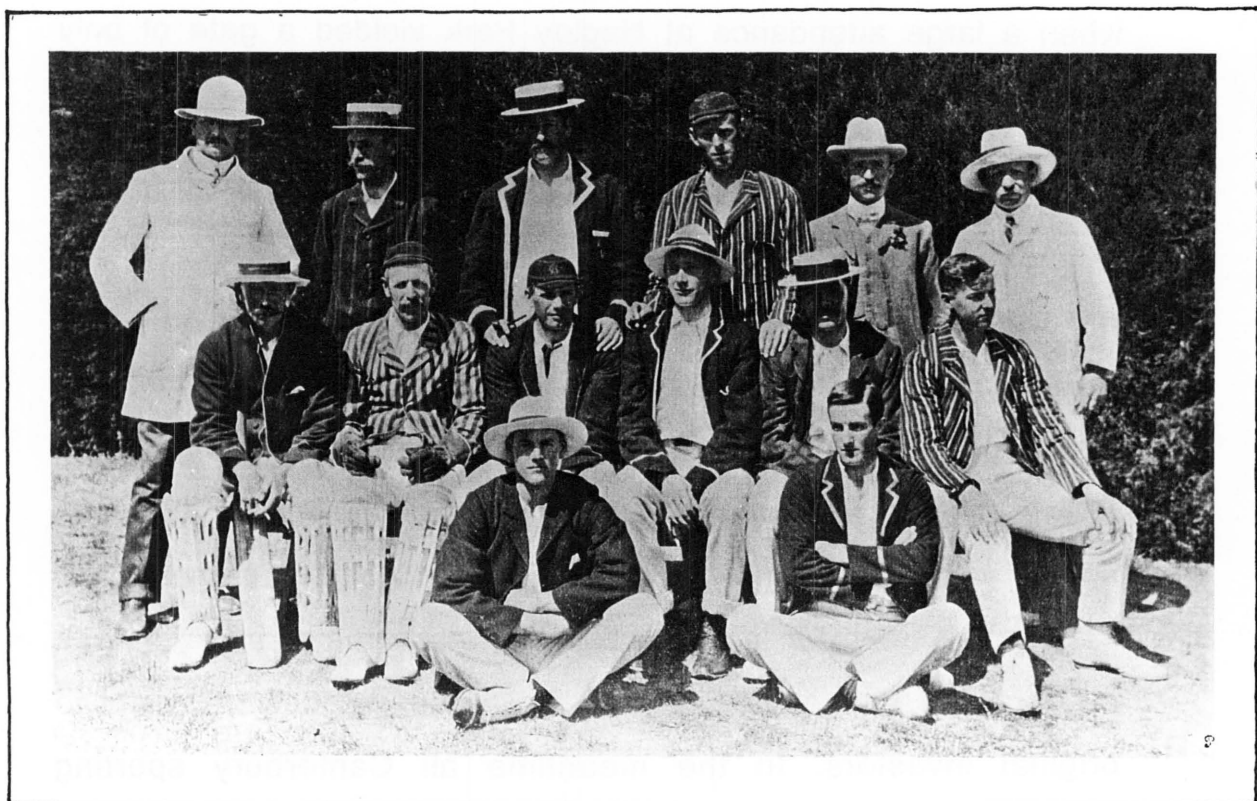
³⁰ Tait, op. cit., pp.46-9; OCA, Annual Report, 1880; *Otago Daily Times*, 1 October 1880, p.3.

Most probably, it was also reluctant to be seen as favouring the demands of one particular interest group over many others.

Some of the problem was resolved in January 1882 with the floating of the Carisbrook Ground Company. With a private ground it was at least possible to derive gate receipts. But the relationship between the Company and the Cricket Association was seldom harmonious. Dominated by conflicts of interest among Company shareholders who were also active members of the OCA, there was constant wrangling over the terms of the lease and the percentage of revenue to be derived by each body from interprovincial matches. The situation became so difficult that Carisbrook was abandoned in favour of the Caledonian ground for the Canterbury match in 1890. But this facility was lost when the Phoenix CC disbanded during the same year. The OCA were still searching for an alternative ground to Carisbrook in 1892.³¹

With a wider range of influential patronage to draw on, Canterbury cricketers sought a more direct and comprehensive solution - the establishment of their own private ground. After a public meeting on 8 May 1880, at which A.M. Ollivier, E.C.J. Stevens and others outlined the necessity of a self-supporting ground to be used by a variety of sports, the Canterbury Cricket and Athletic Sports Company Ltd was floated with £4500 capital derived from 450 £10 shares. Within a year of land being purchased from the Lancaster estate, a ground had been established with a seven foot perimeter fence, stands,

³¹. Tait, *op. cit.*, pp.49, 61-2; OCA, Committee Minutes, 30 September 1892.



The Canterbury team 1906-07. This team defeated the MCC by seven wickets - but lost the return fixture by 236 runs. T.W. Reese, author of the two volume history *New Zealand Cricket*, is second from left in the back row. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum)

terraces, a cinder track, cricket ground, tennis courts and bowling greens.³²

Meanwhile, the visit of the 1881 Australian XI highlighted a familiar problem with the Public Reserves Act when a large attendance at Hagley Park yielded a gate of only £150. The *Lyttelton Times* saw a solution close at hand.

The generosity of people who are not compelled to pay for their pleasure, is always a precarious thing to depend on; and it is with satisfaction, therefore, that lovers of the game watch the progress to completion of the new private ground.³³

All was not so simple. Costs, especially for the pavilion, stands and drainage, greatly exceeded expectations, with the result that Harman and Stevens, Christchurch's leading estate agents, had to negotiate a £4000 loan. By the end of 1882 the annual interest on the account was £260 with another £150 required to pay for a groundsman and maintenance. It was twenty years before the one and only cash dividend was paid to original investors. In the meantime all Canterbury sporting bodies, and the Canterbury Cricket Association especially, operated under the shadow of huge liabilities.³⁴

After years of wrangling between the Company and the various sports using Lancaster Park, the CCA moved to purchase the ground for £10,000 in February 1904. After the Canterbury Rugby Football Union refused to join them in the venture, the Association issued debentures and accepted responsibility for a £4000 mortgage. But high interest payments and limited returns again prompted requests to the CRFU for assistance, which they accepted in 1911. Only in

³². T.W. Reese, *History of Lancaster Park, Christchurch*, Christchurch, c1935, pp.1-6.

³³. *Lyttelton Times*, 24 February 1881, p.6.

³⁴. Reese, *Lancaster Park*, pp.7-10.

1920, when fundraising yielded £12000, was Lancaster Park finally free of debt.³⁵

Wellington cricketers could at least claim a degree of support from the City Council in their efforts to develop the Basin Reserve, but they were no less impeded by financial constraints and restrictive legislation. After securing a lease from the Wellington Town Board in 1866, the cricketers, in conjunction with the Caledonian Society, spent a considerable sum surveying and draining the ground and erecting a grandstand - the later financed by the issue of £10 debentures. But a heated public meeting in April 1876 recommended that the Basin should be opened for wider public access with paths and walkways. The reply from the cricketers, that the public had only taken an interest in the area once it had been developed, seemed to meet with the approval of the City Council. They worked closely with the newly formed Wellington Cricket Association on further improvements and drainage during the next five years.³⁶

The greatest obstacle was posed by Wellington footballers. A letter to the *Evening Post* after the Australian XI match in 1881 lamented the abominable state of the ground, suggesting that it would remain so until cricketers gained more exclusive use. In similar fashion, a *New Zealand Times* editorial complained that cricketers were spending £150 annually on the ground only to have their efforts ruined by

³⁵. Brittenden, op. cit., p.18; *The Press*, 18 April 1904, p.6; 3 May 1904, p.5; 26 September 1904, p.8.

³⁶. Neely, *100 Summers*, pp.18-19.

footballers.³⁷ Efforts by the City Council in 1884 to restrict winter activities resulted in an acrimonious Supreme Court case as the footballers failed in a challenge to the legality of their exclusion from a public reserve. Finally a new Deed was gazetted for the Basin Reserve on 18 December 1884.³⁸

The struggle for control continued well into the twentieth century. In 1888 the WCA complained bitterly to the City Council when the Wellington Football Club was again given permission to use the Basin Reserve for their annual sports.³⁹ Again in 1907 the Council allowed lacrosse, hockey and football on the ground. Meanwhile, proposals for ground improvements had been put on hold while the Council considered a proposal to put a tramway through the ground. Thankfully for the cricketers, this was abandoned.⁴⁰ In the 1990s proposals have advanced to the point of advocating a tunnel under the ground.

While Auckland never suffered the ground limitations of the other main centres, local cricket was not without its share of problems. During the 1860s and '70s the Auckland Domain Board was constantly short of funds. Yet it encountered strong protests whenever it sought to increase its revenue by charging admission to matches, or by leasing grazing rights. Only when the Domain came under the control of the Auckland City Council in 1884, were funds made available to properly develop it.⁴¹ But as the area was not specifically

³⁷. Ibid, p.25.

³⁸. Ibid, p.29.

³⁹. *New Zealand Times*, 22 September 1888, p.5.

⁴⁰. WCA, Annual Report, 1903, 1904, 1907.

⁴¹. Bush, op. cit., p.167.

designated for cricket, local games were often cancelled to make way for athletics, cycling and race meetings. Thus the Auckland Cricket Association began searching for a private ground in 1901.⁴²

Not until 1912 did the ACA finally complete negotiations and financing for the control of Eden Park - which hosted its inaugural first-class game in 1913. Inevitably the costs of developing the ground greatly exceeded expectations - not least being the members' stand built at a cost of £1835. By 1921 the ground trustees still required £8000. Only when a joint agreement was made with the Auckland Rugby Union in 1926 did the Park begin to prosper.⁴³

Aside from the pressures it placed on provincial cricket associations at a local level, the Public Reserves Act contained particularly damaging implications for international cricket. By presenting a strong discouragement to English touring teams the Act greatly undermined the growth of New Zealand cricket during a crucial period of the 1880s. Alfred Shaw, promoter of several English touring teams, recalled that 1000 Aucklanders refused to pay at the England XI match in 1882 as the ground was a public reserve. With no other ground available,

We had no option but to play the match as arranged, and keep out those who thought we could afford to travel from England and play cricket without charge for their edification and amusement.

In Wellington it was estimated that as many spectators were watching the game from the hills around the Basin Reserve as

⁴². ACA, Annual Report, 1901.

⁴³. *100 Not Out*, pp.123-29.

were inside the ground. An attempt to obscure their view by erecting sacking above the fence was thwarted by Wellington wind..⁴⁴

Something of a vicious circle was completed by the attitude of the provincial cricket associations. Debt-ridden and deprived of income from interprovincial cricket, they saw the popularity of touring teams as an ideal opportunity to make amends. But a letter from James Lillywhite to the secretary of the Auckland Cricket Association in November 1886, made it clear that their ambition had backfired.

Our team very much wished to visit you, but it is out of the question on such conditions. Why on earth they [the provincial cricket associations] should want twice as much as the Melbourne and Sydney people I cannot imagine. I should have thought they would have welcomed the English teams to New Zealand without any plunder, if only to improve their cricket, as visits to Australia improved Australian cricket in such a marked manner; but your authorities think otherwise, and by heavy blackmail they put a veto on our visit.⁴⁵

The implied tension in this conflict between the supposed missionary role of touring cricket teams and the financial manoeuvring which surrounded them will be considered later.⁴⁶ The more immediate impact was that there were no English tours of New Zealand from 1882 until 1903.

The much needed amendment to the Public Reserves Act came in 1885. In pure form the provisions of the new Act gave sporting bodies exactly what was required. Local councils were now able to lease reserves for up to three years and to sanction the building of pavilions and stands. More importantly, for a maximum of ten days in any year, sporting

⁴⁴. A.W. Pullin, *Alfred Shaw: Cricketer*, London, 1902, p.74; *New Zealand Times*, 7 February 1882, p.2.

⁴⁵. Pullin, op. cit., p.96.

⁴⁶. See Chapter Thirteen.

bodies were allowed to enclose such reserves and charge for admission. Any charge was not to exceed one shilling per day for the ground or ten shillings for the grandstand - with an extra one shilling for each horse or vehicle. Such charges could not be demanded on more than three days consecutively. Finally, local bodies were able to regulate which games were able to be played on the reserves. In particular, they had the power to prohibit any game which would damage the reserve in such a way as to prohibit the playing of any other game.⁴⁷ This final clause was especially useful to cricketers in restricting the activities of footballers.

By allowing the establishment of permanent facilities, and permitting sports bodies to generate revenue from their fixtures, the new Act was far more flexible than its predecessor. But the advantages for cricket were largely cosmetic. Potential access to grounds was one thing, having the resources to use that potential was quite another. The 1881 Act had prompted Canterbury, Otago and Wellington to plunge their resources into private ventures that were to burden them long after the 1885 Amendment. With no cash reserves the cricket associations were not in any position to take immediate advantage, especially as demographic factors also conspired against them.

Without the large urban concentrations of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, and without a regular diet of touring teams, New Zealand cricket simply did not have the revenue producing spectatorship that enabled Australian expansion. At no time did any of the cricket associations have a sufficient

⁴⁷. *New Zealand Statutes*, 1885, No.29.

surplus of funds to contemplate long term development or regular touring. Nor did they have the funds to compensate players for loss of earnings during such tours. It was therefore difficult to secure the quality of teams necessary to make interprovincial cricket attractive to the paying public. The problem became self-perpetuating in that a paucity of visiting teams deprived all associations of valuable opportunities to benefit from gate receipts. Moreover, an erratic interprovincial programme did nothing to sustain the sort of public interest and enthusiasm for cricket necessary to draw spectators to games on a consistent basis. Even the Plunket Shield, presented in 1907 as a focal point for interprovincial cricket, failed to solve the problem. As matches were played on a challenge basis, and on the home ground of the holder, the opportunities for all associations to profit were limited. Such windfalls as they did have, from specific fundraising activities or the rare profits from international touring teams, were quickly absorbed during subsequent years on day to day running costs.

The provincial association finances outlined in Table 10.5 are cash balances only. They take no account of significant long term liabilities, especially for ground development, which all associations carried at various times. Yet it is clear that the line between profit and loss was a very fine one, and that failure during one season could severely restrict opportunities for the next. After posting a healthy profit on their match against Australia in 1881, Canterbury were left heavily in overdraft after the rain ruined Tasmanian tour three years later. Bad weather caused a loss on the

TABLE 10.5
FINANCES OF PROVINCIAL CRICKET ASSOCIATIONS

	ACA	CCA	OCA	WCA
1876				+£1.10.0
1877			-	+£3.18.3
1878		+£47.12.0	-	-
1879		+£74.9.10	+£10.7.6	+£27.16.0
1880		-	+£66.11.6	-
1881		+£115.15.6	-	-
1882		-		-
1883		+£25.12.2	+£1.6.10	+£3.0.6
1884	+£7.4.0	-£57.12.5	-	(-c£75)
1885	+£1.0.7	(-£155.15.6)	-£23.19.0	(-£36.18.11)
1886	+£3.13.10	£0.0.0	-	-£51.19.10
1887	+£2.16.10	-	+£0.7.10	+£36.1.0
1888	+£5.16.4	-£8.3.11	+£18.17.5	+£26.4.9
1889	+£5.9.4	+£8.4.7	+£6.16.10	+£30.5.1
1890	-	+£10.5.9	+£-.9.4.	-
1891	+£4.0.3	+£27.19.9	+£4.17.0	-
1892	+£10.15.8	+£3.4.11	+£2.17.4	-
1893	+£10.1.8	+£9.18.1	+£1.1.4	-
1894	+£7.18.9	-£21.11.2	+£14.11.4	-
1895	+£6.15.6	+£12.6.10	+£3.2.7	-
1896	-	-£20.9.5	+£85.13.1	-
1897	+£5.7.8	+£32.19.10	+£86.10.6	+£33.2.1
1898	+£0.7.8	+£48.0.4	+£72.18.3	+£18.9.6
1899	+£20.5.9	+£10.13.3	+£44.16.3	-
1900	+£19.5.2	+£2.18.0	+£-.3.3	+£34.10.9
1901	+£5.13.9	-£21.2.0	+£60.12.10	+£14.11.0
1902	+£34.17.9	+£1.1.11	+£55.1.0	+£27.11.9
1903	-£9.8.11	+£190.5.6	+£207.3.5	+£22.5.2
1904	+£103.14.9	+£88.7.6	+£110.18.4	+£10.13.0
1905	+£175.6.1	-£12.15.3	+£121.2.10	+£52.2.10
1906	+£19.0.3	+£3.11.9	+£79.18.5	+£41.2.11
1907	-£210.8.8	-£71.4.6	-£199.17.8	-£167.8.2
1908	+£43.15.2	-£58.7.7	-£100.4.10	-£166.18.6
1909	+£6.8.0	-£10.11.6	+£183.3.1	-£196.16.0
1910	+£4.2.5	+£35.1.4	+£127.11.2	-£241.12.3
1911	-£58.19.9	+£52.11.11	+£74.18.7	-£227.3.11
1912	-	+£136.3.7	+£42.1.10	-£152.18.3
1913	-£133.0.6	+£29.17.7	-£32.-.11	-
1914	-	-	-£38.6.5	-

() = excess of liabilities over assets.

England matches in March 1888, and the New South Wales tours of 1894 and 1895-96 both produced heavy losses for the province that had done most to organise them. Indeed, only one touring team, Lord Hawke's England XI in 1902-03, matched financial expectations. Canterbury increased its bank balance by £190 and Otago by £150. Auckland also profited from the Australian team of 1905, but Canterbury was back in overdraft by the end of the same season. Following the MCC tour of 1906-07, marked by extravagance on the part of the tourists and a lack of public enthusiasm for their mediocre performances, all of the major associations were left with substantial overdrafts.⁴⁸

As testimony to the financial limitations of New Zealand cricket, the escape from debt was frequently through avenues totally unrelated to the game. From its formation in 1875 to the announcement of its first profit in 1887, the Wellington Cricket Association estimated that it had spent £2590.5s.7d on the development and maintenance of the Basin Reserve. Association finances were so precarious in 1879 that a concert committee was formed to help clear debts. They raised £44. The Wellington Amateur Dramatic Club repeated the gesture in 1883 after the failure of a call for all players to give 5s to develop the Basin Reserve.⁴⁹ When the situation had again deteriorated by 1900, the WCA were rescued by the Wellington Rugby Football Union and the Athletic Park Ground Company who staged a benefit match to raise funds. A decade

⁴⁸. All financial details are derived from the Annual Reports and Balance Sheets of the Auckland, Canterbury, Otago and Wellington Cricket Association's and the New Zealand Cricket Council.

⁴⁹. WCA Annual Report, 1879, 1883, 1887; Neely, *100 Summers*, p.28.

later the WCA was back to an overdraft of £227.3s.11d after the failure of an Art Union lottery organised to help clear debts. The Association complained that only 717 of 5000 tickets had been sold, most of them to non players. The WCA President, Sir F.H.D. Bell, threatened to resign unless players took a more active role in securing the future of the Association.⁵⁰

As its cricket activities continually produced losses, the WCA was forced to take direct action. At the beginning of the 1911-12 season the Association announced a levy of 1s on every senior player and 6d on every junior player for each Saturday on which they played. It was hoped that this would net the Association £150 for the season. But the scheme did not meet with general satisfaction, and failed to address a wider problem. The Annual Report of 1913 lamented the fact that a scarcity of interprovincial matches was placing great financial strain on the WCA. In response, Daniel Reese organised a Canterbury XI to play Wellington at the end of the 1913-14 season.⁵¹

Despite its far more ambitious interprovincial programme, or possibly because of it, the Canterbury Cricket Association was financially no better off than Wellington. In 1886, after declaring a balance of £0.0s.0d, the CCA organised a two day fundraising fete at Lancaster Park which included a well patronised tennis tournament. Within two years, carrying an overdraft of £8.3s.11d, a weak team was sent to Dunedin for the interprovincial match when the CCA announced that it

⁵⁰. WCA Annual Report, 1900, 1911; Neely, *100 Summers*, pp.78-9.

⁵¹. *Otago Witness*, 25 October 1911, p.60; WCA Annual Report, 1913; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.576.

could not afford to pay the travel and accommodation expenses of leading players.⁵² The Association's debts were finally cleared in 1895, but the Annual Report of 1898 again stressed the need for income generating schemes. Arrangements were made in 1901 to amalgamate with the Canterbury Lawn Tennis Association for a floral fete, but it was cancelled amid mourning for the death of Queen Victoria. No such barrier existed when the event was tried again in 1909 and it ended disastrously. Initial plans for an Anniversary Day floral fete to reduce the CCA overdraft were postponed due to bad weather. It was held the following week - with a £40 loss. Some of this was recouped by a performance from the Christchurch Comedy Club which raised £10.18.6 and an Art Union in 1910 which produced a very healthy £241.3.5. But a public subscription was still required to send the Canterbury team to Auckland for a Plunket Shield challenge in 1911. Their victory signalled a gradual financial recovery, but the CCA was still saddled with debts relating to the purchase of Lancaster Park in 1904.⁵³

Cricket in Otago was as much of a financial failure as anywhere in the country. But the Otago Cricket Association was somewhat more successful with its fundraising activities. After a £6 loss on the Canterbury visit at the beginning of 1886, a benefit game recouped £3.11s.0d for the Association. The following year, a benefit match organised by the Otago Rugby Union returned £14.15s.3d. When wet weather caused losses on the Fiji, Southland and Wellington matches in

⁵². *Weekly Press*, 19 November 1886, p.10; *New Zealand Referee*, 26 January 1888, p.115.

⁵³. CCA, Annual Report, 1895, 1898, 1901, 1909, 1910; CCA, Committee Minutes, 10 January 1901, 31 January 1901.

1895, the response was an "Otago Cricketers Association Japanese Fair and Art Union" which raised £132. At the beginning of the next season a concert raised £20 to send the provincial team to Christchurch. In 1909 a £100 overdraft was wiped out by an Art Union which raised £302.⁵⁴

Finance was again the overriding factor when a conference was finally called in July 1912 to establish a formula for regular interprovincial cricket. Meeting in Wellington on the initiative of the Otago Cricket Association, delegates considered proposals to change the Plunket Shield from its existing challenge format to a tournament similar to that of the Australian Sheffield Shield. After lengthy debate the plan was rejected as impractical and potentially bankrupting. Instead it was decided that Canterbury and Wellington should play each province annually, Auckland and Otago to meet every two years, and Hawkes Bay to secure matches by individual arrangement. The New Zealand Cricket Council would claim 5% of takings from each match, and the visiting team 30%.⁵⁵

Inevitably the scheme hit a snag when Auckland and Canterbury disagreed over how it ought to be started. Having toured south during 1911-12, Auckland was reluctant to do so during the 1912-13 season. Canterbury was unwilling to visit Auckland unless it could secure a greater proportion of the gate than the agreed 30%. It was not until the following season that the *Otago Witness* could safely announce that a more

⁵⁴. OCA, Annual Report, 1886; 1887; 1895; 1896; 1909.

⁵⁵. NZCC, General Meeting Minutes, 25 April 1912, 23 September 1912; *New Zealand Referee*, 17 July 1912, p.87.

regulated interprovincial interchange had been set in place.⁵⁶

Judged purely in business terms, it is reasonable to suggest that none of the provincial cricket associations should have survived beyond their first decade. Wellington did not return a profit during its first twelve years. Canterbury sustained five successive losses during the 1880s, and Auckland's bank balance did not exceed £10 during its first nine years. Especially during the depression of the late 1880s, the efforts to sustain cricket at any level - local, interprovincial or international - represent a considerable economic anomaly. Moreover it was an anomaly perpetuated by some of the most prominent members of New Zealand's commercial elite. E.C.J. Stevens accumulated a fortune in excess of £290 000 from his activities as a commission and estate agent. W.H. Levin, President of the Wellington Cricket Association 1880-93, enjoyed a long career at the head of a business empire originally established by his father.⁵⁷ One must obviously ask why this economic unreality was allowed to continue and whether any genuine effort was made to alter it.

The situation in English cricket during the same period is most instructive. The vast majority of cricket clubs were not economically viable. Indeed, the editor of the *Athletic News* was moved to observe in 1886 that "It would be difficult ... to point to a cricket club which did not get into debt. It is one of their brightest privileges". What income they had was derived

⁵⁶. *The Press*, 24 September 1912, p.8; *Otago Witness*, 29 October 1913, p.53.

⁵⁷. *DNZB*, Vol.1, pp.239-40, 407-8.

from membership subscriptions and gate money, with a select few able to augment this by renting their grounds to other sports such as athletics and football.⁵⁸ As a profit-making enterprise, English first-class cricket was a signal failure. The majority of county clubs were sustained only by the generosity of patrons and members. Lord Sheffield spent a vast sum supporting Sussex during the 1880s and '90s, while the Duke of Devonshire frequently liquidated Derbyshire's debts which stood as high as £1000 in 1887.⁵⁹ At a local level, many cricket clubs only survived because of their dual existence as football clubs. In 1900, Sheffield United drew a £1755 profit from football, while sustaining a £521 loss on its cricket activities.⁶⁰

As an explanation, Keith Sandiford and Wray Vamplew argue that the esteem in which Victorians held the game determined that "so far as cricket finances were concerned, on many occasions emotion superseded economics".⁶¹ The County clubs and the Marylebone Cricket Club gave very little attention to profit maximisation prior to 1914. They did nothing to popularise county cricket as a spectacle by reducing the number of drawn games - which had reached nearly forty per cent by 1900. Nor did they attempt to reduce the lack of competitiveness which accompanied the increasing ascendancy of bat over ball. Frequent proposals to assist bowlers by modifying the lbw law or by widening the wicket were all

⁵⁸. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.56.

⁵⁹. Ibid, pp.65-6.

⁶⁰. Ibid, p.57.

⁶¹. K. Sandiford & W. Vamplew, "The Peculiar Economics of English Cricket Before 1914", *British Journal of Sports History*, Vol.3, No.3, 1986, p.311.

rejected.⁶² As Sandiford and Vamplew conclude,

Many of the game's traditional supporters were willing to subsidise the sport for reasons of civic pride, county allegiance, or even national jingoism. Basically cricket was so much an integral element of English ritual, mores and tradition that it was not viewed simply, or even primarily, as a business proposition.⁶³

In short, although English cricket was not economically viable in its existing form, there was virtually no effort to alter it in order to attract more paying spectators.

New Zealand administrators were conditioned by a similar approach. Drawn as they were from the English public school system or its New Zealand clone, they were never prompted to question the manners and forms of the game as articulated by the MCC. Unlike Australia, where some minor alterations were made to the length of the over, the duration of matches and the follow-on,⁶⁴ there is no evidence of either the provincial cricket associations or the New Zealand Cricket Council making any attempt to alter the fabric of the game or to make any specific allowances for local conditions. There is ample evidence of interprovincial tours being abandoned due to lack of funds,⁶⁵ but no sign of a reduction in the determination to continue trying to stage them.

No doubt the inferior standard of New Zealand cricket contributed to the reluctance of administrators to tamper with the fabric of the game. In rugby, which obtained a considerable degree of international success prior to 1914, the reverse was the case. Particularly after the all-conquering

⁶². Ibid, pp.313-6.

⁶³. Ibid, pp.323-4.

⁶⁴. Webster, op. cit., "preface - a Chronology of Australian Laws", no p. no.

⁶⁵. For example, *New Zealand Herald*, 26 September 1885, p.6; OCA, Annual Report, 1886.

1905 All Black tour of Britain, there was agitation from the highest echelons of New Zealand rugby to reform the game both on and off the field. The Otago Rugby Football Union was not alone in presenting a far-reaching plan aimed at faster play with greater public appeal.⁶⁶

In a sense, the New Zealand economic position is even more extreme than that in English cricket. Although the scale of activities by the provincial cricket associations was minute compared to the obligations of the English counties, there were at the same time no aristocratic patrons blessed with the resources of Lord Sheffield, nor any professional football clubs to assist with liquidating debts. Moreover, the terms of the Public Reserves Act and later ground arrangements precluded any notion of augmenting cricket coffers from rent. Despite this, the cricket associations stuck determinedly to their objectives. Indeed, as later chapters will show, they continued to tackle the expense of English professional coaches and English touring teams when cheaper options presented themselves in Australia. Quality of cricket, and not economy of cricket, was the abiding principle.

At no time before 1914 did the provincial cricket associations match their own expectations and objectives. They did not want for influential patronage, and the internal politics of each were relatively harmonious. But they could do nothing to change the fact that New Zealand cricket was not economically viable. Without finance the major objectives of

⁶⁶ S. O'Hagan, *Pride of Southern Rebels: History of Otago Rugby*, Dunedin, 1981, p.70.

all associations - the development of local infrastructures and the staging of interprovincial matches - were compromised. Survival demanded a degree of self interest in which each province sought to gain the maximum return from any dealings with its counterparts in order to finance its own activities. It was against this background that the New Zealand Cricket Council struggled to establish continuity.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
A FRAGILE EDIFICE
THE NEW ZEALAND CRICKET COUNCIL 1894-1914

During the 1890s cricket reached the peak of its influence within New Zealand sport and took its greatest steps towards unity. There were more interprovincial matches and more touring teams than ever before. The first representative New Zealand team took the field in 1894, and embarked on its first tour of Australia in 1899. Numerous local and regional cricket associations were formed beyond the four main centres, and associations also emerged to cater for the mid-week and social cricketer. Most importantly, a meeting in Christchurch on 27 December 1894 established the New Zealand Cricket Council (NZCC) as a central administrative body. At the end of the century cricket was a national game - perhaps "the" national game - a term which would later be more commonly associated with the dominance of rugby in New Zealand.

The task of forming a New Zealand Cricket Council was approached with idealism and enthusiasm. The Council set itself wideranging objectives, and there was no shortage of Victorian sporting gentleman possessed of the necessary influence to carry them out. Indeed, the NZCC could claim some important contributions to the expansion of domestic and international cricket in New Zealand during its first two

decades. But by 1914 it was embroiled in bitter controversies with its provincial components, and more than one element of the press insisted that a centralised administration was not in the best interests of New Zealand cricket. In practical terms, the Council inherited the financial problems which so severely restricted the provincial associations. At the same time, its efforts to select New Zealand teams and to coordinate overseas touring teams established a convenient staging ground for provincial antagonisms and self interest. Ultimately, the NZCC could never be any more effective than its member associations allowed it to be.

The aims of the NZCC were increasingly limited by the fact that it did not have a viable product to promote. Interprovincial cricket remained competitive and an interesting public spectacle in so far as there were keenly contested encounters between teams of equal ability. But the reality, when New Zealand teams entered the international arena, was a standard far below that in any other major cricketing country. Victories were few, and achieved only against opposition that was second- or third-rate by the prevailing standards of England and Australia. Within a decade of the formation of the Council, cricket had been superseded by rugby as the "national game" - a title which owed as much to the numbers playing and supporting rugby as to its increasing prominence within public consciousness.

What was in many respects the period of greatest formalisation and advancement for New Zealand cricket, was at the same time the period of its greatest decline in relative importance. Inevitably this contradiction produced a good deal

of theorising among contemporary observers. Climatic conditions, the extent of urbanisation and geographical isolation, were common explanations which must be considered carefully, as should the dramatic expansion and success of rugby. Did the popularity of rugby really reduce support for cricket as many believed? Whether real or imagined, all theories about the state of New Zealand cricket are relevant in that they contributed to a generally pessimistic perception of the game and the role of the New Zealand Cricket Council within it.

Pessimism was far from the minds of those who set out to establish the New Zealand Cricket Council in 1894. Earlier proposals for a central administrative body arose from attempts to organise "combined New Zealand" teams in 1867, 1875, 1882, 1886 and 1889. Prior to the visit of the 1886 Australian team, the Wellington Cricket Association circulated a letter suggesting that a match be played between the North and South islands with a view to selecting a New Zealand team to play against the tourists. The WCA felt that the best way to manage this proposal would be through the establishment of a single controlling body. But their suggestions were rebuffed by the other provincial associations on the basis of both a lack of time and the financial strain it would impose on them.¹

It was more than seven years before a New Zealand team finally took the field against New South Wales in Christchurch

¹. ACA, Annual Report, 1886; OCA, Annual Report, 1886. The origins of a representative New Zealand team are fully discussed in Chapter Fourteen.

on 15 February 1894. The initiative for this match came from the Canterbury Cricket Association which guaranteed the venture and appointed A.M. Ollivier as sole selector of the New Zealand team.² Within four months Canterbury administrators had determined to put the organisation of New Zealand teams, and cricket generally, on a more collective footing. In June 1894 T.D. Harman and L.A. Cuff of Christchurch, the latter of whom had captained the first New Zealand team, drafted rules for a New Zealand Cricket Council and circulated these to all provincial Cricket Associations.³ Their motives in taking this initiative may have been as much defensive as altruistic. For its trouble in organising the first New Zealand match, the Canterbury Cricket Association was now £21.11s.2d in overdraft. Moreover there had been complaints from both Otago and Wellington regarding Ollivier's selection of five Canterbury players in the New Zealand team.⁴

To describe the first meeting of the Council on 27 December 1894 (Table 11.1) as a great coming together of New Zealand cricket administrators is rather deceptive. With the exception of Williams, Smythe and Gore, all of the delegates were Cantabrians holding proxy votes for the various cricket associations. This would remain the formula for the next two decades. Under the chairmanship of Edward Heathcote Williams, who was later elected President, the meeting outlined six objectives aimed at establishing stability and promoting New Zealand cricket.

². D. Neely, R. King, F. Payne, *Men in White*, Auckland 1985, p.35.

³. *New Zealand Referee*, 26 June 1894, p.26.

⁴. See Chapter Fourteen.

TABLE 11.1
DELEGATES TO FIRST MEETING OF
NEW ZEALAND CRICKET COUNCIL
JANUARY 1895

E.C.J. Stevens	Auckland
L.A. Cuff	Canterbury
T.D. Harman	Canterbury
C.R. Smith	Hawkes Bay
E..H. Williams	Hawkes Bay
J.H. Wood	Nelson
J. Smythe	Otago
G.A.U. Tapper	Southland
R.D. Harman	Taranaki
W.J. Cotterill	Taranaki
A.M. Ollivier	Wellington
R. Gore	Wellington

In addition to a general intention to advance the game of cricket throughout New Zealand, the NZCC would also accept responsibility for the arrangement of all colonial and "foreign" cricket tours and matches in New Zealand and New Zealand representative teams touring overseas; arrange all interprovincial matches; settle all disputes and differences between provincial cricket associations; and adopt all rules and amendments passed by the MCC.⁵

The meeting also determined that Auckland, Canterbury, Otago and Wellington would pay a two guinea subscription and provide two delegates to the Council, other associations to pay one guinea and provide one delegate. Interprovincial matches would be arranged at the Annual General Meeting, and the Council conformed to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union decision to adopt a silver fern leaf badge as the playing insignia of its representative team.⁶

All was not entirely smooth for the NZCC. In an ominous sign for the future, delegates rejected three aspects of Cuff and Harman's draft constitution. After a lengthy debate they refused to consent to the Council having sole power to appoint umpires for interprovincial and inter colonial matches, or deriving a percentage of gate takings from these matches, or that the New Zealand team should be chosen by one selector each from the North and South Island.⁷ The provinces were certainly determined to maintain a degree of autonomy.

In accordance with its objectives, the NZCC dispatched W.S. Wanklyn of Christchurch to Australia in 1895 to negotiate

⁵. *New Zealand Referee*, 3 January 1895, p.27.

⁶. Ibid.

⁷. Ibid.

for a possible New Zealand tour and to attract Australian teams to New Zealand. In the latter respect he was successful in that the first officially sanctioned New South Wales team arrived at the end of the year, and Queensland during the following season.⁸ At the time of the first Annual General Meeting in October 1895, *The Press* was quick to spot the advantage of a Cricket Council.

We hope that now that our cricketers have the advantage of a general body to make arrangements for them, it may become the regular thing for New Zealand cricketers every other year to meet on Australian ground the elite of Australian cricket while in the alternate years we may be visited by one or more Australian teams.⁹

Such promise produced more disappointment than satisfaction over the next two decades.

But, for the moment, the NZCC steadily drew the minor cricket associations under its control. Westland had joined by 1898. Hamilton, Manawatu, South Canterbury, South Otago, Wairarapa and Wanganui had all affiliated by 1903, Marlborough and North Taranaki by 1905 and Buller and Poverty Bay by 1909.¹⁰

The office holders of the NZCC (Table 11.2) were collectively an influential group. But how much control the President actually exerted is a moot point in that the position was rotated yearly among the various Cricket Associations. Day to day business rested with the Secretary and Treasurer in Christchurch.

The first President, E.H. Williams, a Hastings solicitor, was the driving force behind Hawkes Bay cricket. Walter

⁸. Neely, *100 Summers*, p.49.

⁹. *The Press*, 18 October 1895, p.4.

¹⁰. NZCC, Annual Report, 1898, 1903, 1905, 1909.

TABLE 11.2
NEW ZEALAND CRICKET COUNCIL
OFFICE HOLDERS 1894-1914

	President:	Secretary:	Treasurer:
1894-95	E.H. Williams	C.R. Smith	T.D. Harman
1895-96	F.H.D. Bell	" "	" "
1896-97	F. Wilding	" "	" "
1897-98	A.E. Whitaker	G.A.U. Tapper	" "
1898-99	A.C. Hanlon	" "	" "
1899-00	G. Cleghorn	" "	" "
1900-01	W. Empson	" "	" "
1901-02	Dr. W. Peerless	F.C. Raphael	" "
1902-03	W.G. White	" "	" "
1903-04	A.C. Cross	" "	" "
1904-05	A.E.G. Rhodes	" "	" "
1905-06	Dr. C.E. Thomas	" "	R. Vincent
1906-07	F.C. Watson	" "	" "
1907-08	W.H. Perkins	" "	" "
1908-09	W.F. Cederwell	" "	" "
1909-10	S.W. Thornton	" "	" "
1910-11	E. Newman	" "	J. Young
1911-12	F. Wilding	" "	" "
1912-13	F.H.D. Bell	" "	" "
1913-14	E.H. Williams	" "	J.H. Williams
1914-15	J.J. Clark	J.H. Barrett	A. Handy

Empson was the Rector of Wanganui Collegiate School. F.H.D. Bell and Frederick Wilding, were both prominent lawyers and provincial sporting figures. Whitaker, a son of Sir Frederick Whitaker, was a prominent Auckland lawyer. His successor, Alfred Hanlon KC (1866-1944), endures as one of New Zealand's most renowned legal figures. He was an active administrator in boating, boxing, cricket, golf, horse racing and rugby.¹¹ George Cleghorn (1850-1902) received his medical training at St Thomas' Hospital, London, before establishing a large medical practice in Blenheim and serving as medical officer to Wairau Hospital from 1878. He was one of New Zealand's leading surgeons.¹² Walter Pearlless was a medical graduate of St Bartholomew's Hospital who had extensive military experience before establishing a large practice in Nelson. He was extensively involved with the Masonic Lodge.¹³

Of the more permanent members of the NZCC, the most important were George Tapper, T.D. Harman, Reginald Vincent and F.C. Raphael. George Tapper (1865-1935), educated at Christ's College, became manager of the Bank of New Zealand in Christchurch. He was Secretary of the United Canterbury Cricket Club, and a member of the Canterbury Club.¹⁴ Thomas De Renzy Harman (1861-1950), was educated at Christ's College where he was a senior Somes Scholar in 1878. He was a Canterbury cricket representative 1882-94 and rugby representative in 1883. A founder member of the Christchurch

¹¹. DNZB, Vol.2, pp.192-3.

¹². Ibid, p.90.

¹³. CNZ, Vol.5, passim.

¹⁴. CNZ, Vol.3, p.262; *The School List of Christ's College*, p.122.

and Russley golf clubs, he was several times holder of the New Zealand long jump record. A lawyer with an extensive background in Anglican Church affairs, Harman was director of the Christchurch Building Society for more than forty years.¹⁵ Reginald Vincent was a solicitor and sometime president of the Christ's College Old Boys' Association.¹⁶ F.C "Tim" Raphael (1867-1940) did more than anyone to shape the course of the Council during his fourteen year secretaryship. A Christchurch educated real estate agent, he was a longtime President of the Canterbury Orchestral Society and a life member of that body, the Savage Club and the RSA. His strong personality and organisational skill were at the centre of numerous patriotic and fundraising endeavours during the First World War.¹⁷

In addition to this permanent Christchurch influence, the constraints of travel and communication also dictated a Canterbury domination of NZCC proceedings. After providing threequarters of the delegates to the first meeting, Canterbury supplied six of eleven to the Annual General Meeting of 1898, six of nine in 1901, nine of seventeen in 1903, thirteen of sixteen in 1905 and nine of seventeen in 1909.¹⁸ Certainly most of these delegates held proxy for other associations and were bound in their response to set agenda items, but one might wonder at the range of views expressed in more informal discussions.

Surprisingly, very little effort was made to challenge this Canterbury domination, or to follow the example in other

¹⁵. T.D. Harman, obituary, *The Press*, 24 April 1950, p.8.

¹⁶. *School List of Christ's College*, passim.

¹⁷. F.C. Raphael, obituary, *The Press*, 20 May 1940, p.9.

¹⁸. NZCC, Annual Report, 1895, 1898, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1909.

sports and move the NZCC from Christchurch to a central location in Wellington. At the inaugural meeting of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union in 1892 there was much debate before it was decided to establish the headquarters of the Union in New Zealand's geographical centre, Wellington. The Otago delegate expressed particular objections to what he felt would become simply a Wellington organisation administered by proxy votes. But the majority opinion declared Wellington to be the only feasible location for all delegates to attend.¹⁹ For similar reasons, the New Zealand Lawn Tennis Association also transferred its headquarters from Napier to Wellington during the early 1890s.²⁰

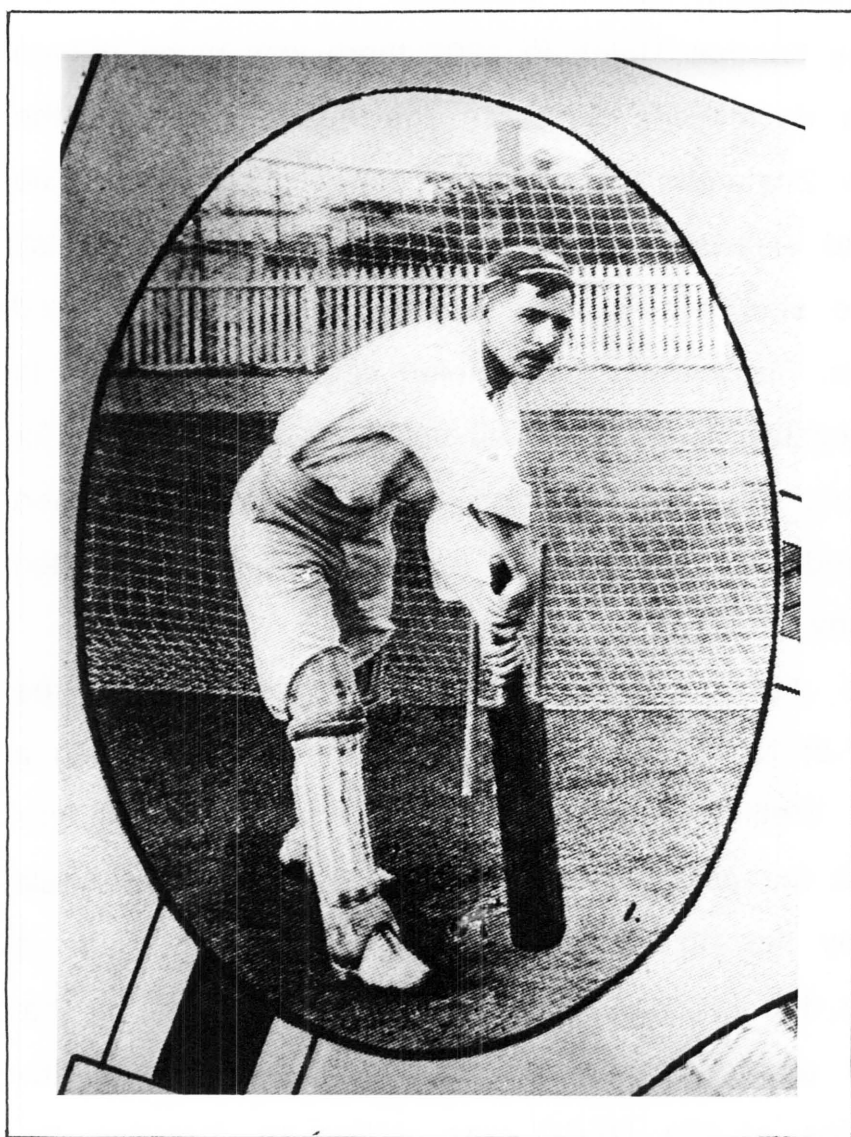
Only in 1910 was there any suggestion that the administration of New Zealand cricket should be moved. In a letter to the Wellington Cricket Association, E.H. Williams suggested that the development of New Zealand cricket would be assisted by moving the NZCC to Wellington. But after a heated debate, the WCA rejected the proposal.²¹ It seems that not even an association which was normally one of the strongest critics of the NZCC was willing to question the traditional mantle of Christchurch as the spiritual home of New Zealand cricket.

The most significant achievements of the New Zealand Cricket Council were the inauguration of the Plunket Shield for

¹⁹. A.C. Swan, *History of New Zealand Rugby Football: Volume 1 1870-1945*, facsimile ed., Auckland 1992, pp.113-4.

²⁰. P. Elenio, *Centrecourt: A Century of New Zealand Tennis*, Wellington, 1986, p.3.

²¹. WCA, Annual General Meeting Minutes, 28 September 1910; Neely, *100 Summers*, p.78; See also, *Christchurch Times*, 12 December 1931, p.12.



Daniel Reese (1879-1953). A left-hand batsman, slow bowler and superb fielder, Reese was undoubtedly the best New Zealand player prior to 1914. He captained Canterbury and New Zealand, played for Essex and W.G. Grace's London County side, and later served a long period as president of the New Zealand Cricket Council. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14800)

interprovincial first-class cricket in 1907, the Hawke Cup for minor associations in 1911, and the establishment of a representative programme for New Zealand teams - including tours to Australia in 1899 and 1914. Moreover, unlike its Australian counterparts, the NZCC was never subject to secessionist movements. The Australasian Cricket Council,²² established in 1892, never came to terms with the existing influence of the Melbourne Cricket Club and the New South Wales Cricket Association. Nor could it contend with the reluctance of the players to relinquish their traditional financial control of international tours. Accordingly, the Council was wound up in January 1900.²³ The Australian Board of Control for International Cricket, formed in May 1905, became another forum for bitter personal and inter-state rivalries. It did not boast a full complement of state cricket associations until October 1914.²⁴

Even against these standards, the New Zealand Cricket Council failed to bring cricket to prominence in the manner envisaged in 1894. Although there were no secessionist movements, and the financial stakes were never high enough to produce protracted disputes with the players, the NZCC was really no more secure than the sum of its constituents. The financial constraints and fragmented nature of the interprovincial game have been discussed already, as has the relative failure of the 1912 interprovincial cricket conference and of the Heathcote Williams Shield for schools' cricket. But

²². Despite the name, there is no evidence that any New Zealand province or the Council was ever invited to join.

²³. C. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, London, 1993, pp.174-202.

²⁴. *Ibid*, p.222.

there were several other instances in which the NZCC either failed completely or had its objectives severely compromised.

One of the NZCC's earliest resolutions - to hold an inter-island fixture in every season when New Zealand was not playing - was stifled by a lack of finance.²⁵ A game was planned for the end of the 1901-02 season, but was cancelled owing to lack of funds and the inability of many players to gain work leave. Most leading players were again unavailable during the following season, but the game was played nevertheless. With a lack of "star" players, it drew a small crowd and sustained an £89 loss.²⁶ In 1907 another scheme was adopted for a match between the Plunket Shield holders, Auckland, and the rest of New Zealand, but this too was abandoned when the NZCC could secure only three players from Wellington and none from Canterbury or Otago.²⁷ A more ambitious proposal at the end of 1910 to stage two inter-island matches, with one involving minor association players, was abandoned as being too expensive.²⁸ The second inter-island match was finally played in 1922, and the third in 1935.

Another problem arose when the Plunket Shield was introduced in 1907. After the NZCC accepted the offer of an interprovincial challenge shield from the Governor, Lord Plunket, it became involved in a protracted debate as to who should be the first recipient. Many felt the Shield should be awarded to Auckland as the recent MCC touring team had

²⁵. *New Zealand Referee*, 3 January 1895, p.27.

²⁶. NZCC, Committee Minutes, 21 December 1901; 22 January 1902; Annual Report, 1904.

²⁷. NZCC, Committee Minutes, 21 November 1907; 17 March 1908.

²⁸. NZCC, Management Committee Minutes, 24 October 1910; 3 November 1910.

regarded them as the best provincial team in the country. A motion to this effect was lost by ten votes to six, and the Shield was eventually awarded to the Canterbury team because of their performances during the previous season and good record against the tourists. This decision caused objections from Auckland who claimed that it was unfair that they would now have to challenge for the Shield in Christchurch when Canterbury already owed them a visit. Auckland eventually agreed to a challenge in Christchurch, and justified their earlier claims to the shield with an innings victory over Canterbury.²⁹

The NZCC also struggled to match its ambitions for international tours. While it was not encumbered with the sort of ground development debts that hung over Canterbury and Wellington, its revenue earning capacity was even more limited by the fact that international tours were far less frequent than interprovincial fixtures and far more expensive to stage. Moreover, as the NZCC's original proposal to derive a percentage of gate takings from interprovincial matches had been rejected, it had virtually no income during seasons when there were no international tours. Without cash reserves the Council could only guarantee the expenses of touring teams by securing smaller guarantees from the provincial associations - which were really no better off. Moreover, as Chapter Fourteen will show, the Council was frequently in conflict with provincial associations which seemed to feel that their financial guarantees entitled them to equal representation in

²⁹. NZCC, Special Committee Minutes, 2 October 1906; Committee Minutes, 18 April 1907; 15 May 1907; Annual General Meeting Minutes, 19 October 1907; *Otago Witness*, 22 May 1907, p.58.

TABLE 11.3
NEW ZEALAND CRICKET COUNCIL
FINANCIAL POSITION 1895-1914

1895	+£1.0.0	
1896	+£56.15.5	profit on New South Wales tour to New Zealand
1897	+£131.14.9	
1898	+£140.2.10	
1899	+£4.4.8	loss on New Zealand tour to Australia
1900	-£24.2.6	loss on Melbourne Cricket Club tour to New Zealand
1901	-£28.1.2	
1902	-£25.12.2	
1903	+£505.18.11	profit on Lord Hawke's England XI tour
1904	+£227.15.9	loss on inter-island match
1905	+£135.19.2	loss on Australian tour to New Zealand
1906	+£60.19.0	loss on Melbourne Cricket Club tour to New Zealand
1907	+£21.19.9	loss on MCC tour to New Zealand
1908	-£85.13.6	repayment of MCC tour guarantees to provinces
1909	-£68.18.1	
1910	+£84.13.2	profit on Australian tour to New Zealand
1911	-	
1912	+£197.1.5	
1913	+£247.3.10	
1914	+£7.7.11	loss on Sims Australian XI tour to New Zealand /New Zealand tour to Australia

New Zealand teams and a greater say in the running of the game generally.

As Table 11.3 reveals, only the tour by Lord Hawke's England XI in 1902-03 returned a very substantial profit. But this was quickly absorbed by large losses on the inter-island match and tours by Australia and the MCC. Not only was it expensive to bring touring teams to New Zealand rather, especially from England, but a much smaller urban population than in Australia dictated that there would always be a much smaller revenue producing spectatorship.

Inevitably, when the NZCC did attempt to secure its own financial position, it was met with strong criticism from the provinces. "Touchline" of the *New Zealand Free Lance*, a persistent critic from 1909 onwards, condemned the failure of the NZCC to reach terms with the Wellington Cricket Association for its proposed fundraising match against the New Zealand team when they returned from Australia in 1914. The NZCC apparently wanted too great a share of gate takings.

The Cricket Council, in my opinion, once again failed to rise to the occasion and in their chase after the mighty dollar were left lamenting their exaltation of the financial side to the detriment of the real purpose of playing the game of cricket in the Dominion. This is one more instance to add to the many laches of the Council, and they make a goodly total at this history of their career. As the Council comes of age next year, probably the individual members of that body will display more wisdom, with their extra responsibilities than they have in the days that are past.³⁰

Certainly Wellington's finances were precarious, but those of the NZCC were no better. With a heavy loss looming from the Australian tour, and more to come from the visit of Arthur Sims' Australian XI to New Zealand, the cash balance was only

³⁰. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 24 January 1914, p.19.

£7 at the end of the 1914 season.³¹

The sentiments expressed by "Touchline" are as much parochial as symptomatic of a conception of "amateur" cricket which owed far more to idealism than pragmatism. In 1909 he had accused Canterbury of placing a higher value on playing ability than coaching ability in its search for a professional coach. Ignoring the value that Albert Relf and Albert Trott had given to Auckland and Hawkes Bay respectively as both players and coaches, "Touchline" insisted that the role of the Plunket Shield was to improve the standard of New Zealand cricketers, not to provide a theatre for imports. A few months later the NZCC strengthened an earlier resolution that all coaches playing in Plunket Shield matches must meet a strict residential qualification.³²

Ironically, it was "Touchline", writing after New Zealand's 162 run loss to Australia at the Basin Reserve in March 1910, who offered one of the most succinct contemporary analyses of the problems facing administrators.

It is all very well for some people to say that we in New Zealand cannot play cricket for nuts; it is very easy to advise that capable coaches are a necessity to lift us up out of our present low state, and it admits of no contradiction that the wickets on which our cricketers are compelled to show their capabilities are not all they should be. No one with even a superficial knowledge of the playing of cricket in this Dominion will deny any of these things, but a casual glance at the balance sheets of the Cricket Associations in New Zealand will convince that they are one and all at their wits end to know how to make ends meet year after year.³³

"Touchline" remained unable to make the connection between the problem of finance, as it related to the provincial cricket associations, and the same problem facing the NZCC as their

³¹. NZCC, Annual Report, 1914.

³². *New Zealand Free Lance*, 10 October 1909, p.19; *New Zealand Times*, 8 February 1910, p.10.

³³. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 9 April 1910, p.18.

controlling body. Clearly there was a demographic and bureaucratic vicious circle by which provincial cricket, and ultimately the New Zealand Cricket Council, was financially constrained. Certainly the NZCC failed in many of its objectives, but it was also blamed for shortcomings which were beyond its control.

Two other factors had an important bearing on the fortunes of New Zealand cricket and the viability of the product which the NZCC was trying to promote. Firstly, even allowing for financial and administrative limitations, the playing standard in New Zealand was so dramatically inferior to that in all other major cricketing countries as to demand further explanation in its own right. Secondly, as the summer game languished, New Zealand rugby was establishing a niche as one of the greatest sporting institutions in the world. If an innings and 358 run loss to Australia at Wellington in March 1905 was close to the nadir for New Zealand cricket, the zenith of a rugby phenomenon that had been building since the 1880s occurred at the end of the same year. The 1905 All Black tour of Britain remains the benchmark for any discussion of sport and emergent national identity in New Zealand.

A comparison of results gives a good idea of the extent to which New Zealand teams dominated, or otherwise, in their respective sports. From 1884 to 1914 representative New Zealand rugby teams, at home and on tour, won 118, lost seven and drew four of their matches. Against all opposition, touring teams in New Zealand won 42, lost 53 and drew six.³⁴ New

³⁴. Chester & McMillan, *op. cit.*, pp.379-82, 397-9; *The Visitors: The*

Zealand representative cricket teams won four, lost thirteen and drew one of their first-class matches during the same period. Against first-class opposition, touring cricket teams in New Zealand won 43, lost ten and drew fifteen. Of the losses, three were sustained by Tasmania, two by Fiji and two by the weak MCC side of 1907. Most of the draws were caused by bad weather. Of the 175 matches played by all touring teams, 114 were won, twelve lost and forty nine drawn.³⁵

These performances are given further definition when one considers the origins of New Zealand representative cricketers. Several of the leading players were Australian born and received all of their cricket training before coming to New Zealand. Among them, Charles Boxshall of Melbourne was the best wicketkeeper in New Zealand prior to 1914. Thomas Cobcroft, captain of the 1895-96 New South Wales touring team, captained the 1899 New Zealand team to Australia. Charles Richardson had the same honour against Lord Hawke's XI in 1903, having scored the first century for a New Zealand team, 114 not out against the Melbourne Cricket Club, in 1900. Both Syd Callaway and Jack Saunders played test cricket for Australia. Joseph Lawton, who represented New Zealand against New South Wales in 1894, was a Warwickshire professional who served four seasons as Otago coach.³⁶

Even allowing for "imported" players, it is doubtful whether New Zealand was ever able to field its best team. The inability of players to gain work leave meant that original

History of International Rugby Teams in New Zealand, Auckland, 1990, pp.17-101.

³⁵. Payne & Smith, op. cit., pp.333,335; Neely, et. al, *Men in White*, pp.35-58.

³⁶. McConnell & Smith, op. cit., passim.

selections were constantly changed. Four of the thirteen players selected for the 1899 tour of Australia were unable to accept the invitation, as was one of their nominated replacements.³⁷ The demands of business curtailed other careers. Leonard Cuff and Herbert DeMaus, among the leading batsmen of the early 1890s, departed for Tasmania and Fiji respectively at the peak of their powers. A decade later, Daniel Reese and Arthur Sims were absent from New Zealand for significant periods.³⁸ Not even the most influential patron could sustain the fortunes of the New Zealand Cricket Council against these odds.

The most frequent contemporary explanation for the retarded growth of New Zealand cricket relates to climate. To this end, George Griffiths presents a climatic-argument which certainly merits wider consideration than his original application of it to cricket in Otago. As a general context, Griffiths suggests that cricket was too firmly established in English tradition ever to "give in" to the weather. But the elements may have been a determinant on sporting preferences in new colonies, and perhaps also in Scotland and Ireland. In the heat of India and the West Indies cricket was naturally played. Although soccer gained a level of support, a more vigorous contact sport such as rugby gained almost no following. In Australia and South Africa, with somewhat more temperate climate in the main areas of settlement, both winter and summer sports flourished. In New Zealand, where

³⁷. Neely, et al. *Men in White*, p.40.

³⁸. McConnell & Smith, op. cit., passim.

the climate is relatively cold, winter sport held a distinct advantage over summer sport. In an endeavour to explain the struggle of Otago cricket at representative level, Griffiths points to several disadvantages for cricket in the most southerly, and therefore coldest, of New Zealand's main cricketing provinces. He argues that the climatic impediment to cricket is not simply rainfall, but also temperature. While areas such as Queensland have a higher average rainfall than Otago, the average temperature of the Australian states is much higher. It is, then, the combination of rain and cold which contributes most to damp, inferior pitch conditions.³⁹

A statistical comparison with Australia (Table 11.4) reveals substantial differences in the productivity of batsmen. In theory, at least, there is no reason why batsmen in New Zealand and Australia should not have had the same chances to succeed against bowling of a relative standard to their own play. Thus one is drawn to the conclusion that bowlers in New Zealand operated under a considerable advantage - from the pitch.

The very low instance of scores in excess of 300 during the nineteenth century is particularly noticeable. That Canterbury compiled nine of the seventeen that were made is as much a reflection of the greater skill of its players, as the efforts of administrators to establish first-class facilities at Hagley Park and Lancaster Park. Equally revealing are the figures for the period after 1900, when one third of all Australian first-class innings, but only one eighth of those in New Zealand, exceeded 300. Moreover, of the 57 New Zealand

³⁹. Griffiths, "History of Otago Cricket".

TABLE 11.4
FREQUENCY OF FIRST-CLASS TEAM INNINGS EXCEEDING
300
IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

AUSTRALIA

	1850-51/1898-99	242 matches	911 innings
	1899-00/1914-15	253 matches	927 innings
	1850-51/1914-15	495 matches	1838 inns
	1850-51/ 1898-99	1899-00/ 1914-15	1850-51/ 1914-15
300-399	99 10.9%	168 18.2%	267 14.5%
400-499	44 4.8%	84 9.0%	128 7.0%
500-599	13 1.4%	37 4.0%	50 2.7%
600-699	4 0.4%	13 1.4%	17 0.9%
700-799	1 0.1%	3 0.3%	4 0.2%
800-899	2 0.2%	3 0.3%	5 0.3%
900+	-	1 0.1%	1 0.1%
300+	163 17.8%	309 33.3%	472 25.7%

NEW ZEALAND

	1859-60/1898-99	149 matches	552 innings
	1899-00/1914-15	128 matches	479 innings
	1859-60/1914-15	277 matches	1031 innings
	1859-60/ 1898-99	1899-00/ 1914-15	1859-60/ 1914-15
300-399	13 2.3%	41 8.6%	54 5.2%
400-499	4 0.7%	9 1.9%	13 1.3%
500-599	- -	4 0.8%	4 0.4%
600-699	- -	3 0.6%	3 0.3%
300+	17 3.0%	57 11.9%	74 7.2%

Scores in excess of 300 made by touring teams: Australia, 91 of 472, 19.2%; New Zealand, 21 of 74, 28.4%. Figures include all team innings begun in first-class matches - whether complete, incomplete, declared or abandoned, and including those where a score in excess of 300 was not possible due to match circumstances - such as a team requiring less than 300 to win in a fourth innings.

scores in excess of 300, twenty were made by touring teams.

If figures from the entire history of New Zealand interprovincial cricket are incorporated, the pre 1914 period assumes an even more dramatic perspective.

*78 of the first 100 completed provincial team innings (not all first-class) produced scores less than 100, as did 49 of the next 100 (all first-class). For Australia (all first-class) the figures are 58 of 100 and fourteen of 100.

*Of the ten highest team innings completed by Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago, only two - by Auckland in 1907 and 1910- were compiled prior to 1914.

*Of the lowest completed innings by these teams, Auckland compiled six of ten prior to 1914; Wellington, twelve of thirteen; Canterbury, eleven of fourteen; Otago, nine of eleven.

*Twelve of the fourteen lowest two innings aggregates by one team in a New Zealand first-class match were made prior to 1900.

*Eight of the nine lowest innings totals in New Zealand were made prior to 1914. The other is 26 by New Zealand in 1955.

*Six of eight New Zealand first-class games completed in a single day occurred prior to 1900. The Auckland v Fiji match in 1948 involved three declarations after lengthy rain delays.

By so greatly restricting opportunities for batsmen and placing bowlers at a deceptive advantage, New Zealand pitch conditions did nothing to assist local players in developing the technique necessary to counter the superior skills of touring teams. Australian players, and Warwick Armstrong especially, frequently observed that New Zealand cricket would only improve in relation to the quality of its pitches. Frank Laver suggested in 1905 that better quality soil should be imported

from Australia, while M.A. Noble added that there was little to be gained from playing on surfaces which were unfair to batsmen and offered no challenge to bowlers.⁴⁰

The damp, slow New Zealand wickets did nothing to assist representative players in their preparations for the tours of Australia in 1899 and 1914. Daniel Reese was in no doubt that the failure of many batsmen was directly attributable to a lack of experience on hard, fast wickets. Without being able to cultivate a proper match temperament, an unnecessary inferiority complex developed among local players. Australian bowler, and frequent New Zealand tourist, Hugh Trumble, reinforced this with the observation that "he would be inclined to back the New Zealanders, if they were batting at the nets".⁴¹

There is not sufficient supporting evidence from attendance figures to allow an accurate judgement about the impact of New Zealand's low cricketing standards on public interest.⁴² But it is quite likely that the low scoring at all levels of the game had a direct bearing on gate receipts and therefore on the revenue of the Cricket Council and its constituents.

Rugby did not face the impediments of climate. It did not necessarily require good weather or perfect surfaces, and it was cheaper to establish. Yet as a winter game, rugby was

40. F. Laver, *An Australian Cricketer on Tour*, London, 1905, p.104; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.118-19; *Otago Witness*, 22 March 1905, p.56; *Australasian*, 19 March 1910, p.718, 21 March 1914, p.649.

41. D. Reese, *Was it all Cricket?*, London, 1948, pp.390,395; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.116; *Otago Witness*, 8 October 1913, p.54.

42. New Zealand press sources provide very little information about the size and composition of cricket crowds.

never in direct competition with cricket for popular support and patronage. The issue is, then, less a matter of asking why rugby had superseded cricket by the 1890s, as understanding the preceding explanation as to why cricket failed to keep pace with the natural expansion of rugby.

Although the first game under rugby rules was not apparently played in New Zealand until 1870, the game expanded rapidly from seven representative fixtures in 1880 to nineteen in 1887, 29 in 1889 and 121 for the decade 1880-89, in addition to 38 by touring teams. During the next ten seasons another 245 matches were played between teams drawn from sixteen provincial rugby unions', with another eighteen matches involving touring teams. The decade after 1900 produced 402 inter-union matches and 36 by touring teams. An inter-Island match was played annually from 1902.⁴³ This compares with a total of 277 first-class cricket matches for the entire period 1864-1914.

A comparison with sporting development in Australia gives some perspective to the increasingly uneven relationship between cricket and rugby in New Zealand. Favourable playing conditions, a revenue earning spectatorship and regular visits from English teams ensured that cricket flourished throughout Australia. At the same time the eastern colonies all possessed active football fraternities, albeit in quite different forms. Victorian rules in Melbourne, rugby in Brisbane and Sydney, were far more advanced in relation to Australian cricket than New Zealand cricket was in relation to rugby.⁴⁴

⁴³. Swan, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁴⁴. See for example, G. Blainey, *A Game of our own: The Origins of Australian Football*, Melbourne, 1990.

Not all contemporary analysis of the state of New Zealand cricket dwelt on climatic factors or the apparent domination of rugby. The *New Zealand Times* of 15 February 1910 offered an especially blunt refutation.

There is no sound reason why cricket in New Zealand should not be a hundred per cent better than it is or that it should not be played by a very much larger number of people. The arguments we hear about the climate being "against the game" are simply so much fudge. The game is played indifferently because, to a great extent, it is not understood: there is practically no encouragement of lads to play, and there is no systematic training in method or style.⁴⁵

The reason for such a lack of attention to detail is not made clear.

The arrival of Lord Hawke's England XI in December 1902 prompted the *New Zealand Herald* to suggest that cricket had been stunted by a lack of such visits from England during the previous two decades. Unlike Australia, which had been able to maintain high standards through regular contacts with English teams, New Zealand's isolation and the inability of the provinces to cooperate in furnishing the necessary financial guarantees had prevented "our cricketers from being aroused to emulation by formidable antagonists".⁴⁶ This can not be disputed. Aside from three matches played by C.A. Smith's XI in March 1888, no English team visited New Zealand from 1882 until 1902. During the same period, Australia hosted nine English teams and dispatched nine to England.⁴⁷ In addition to Alfred Shaw's objections to touring New Zealand, noted in the previous chapter, there was always a financial and logistical

⁴⁵. *New Zealand Times*, 15 February 1910, p.4.

⁴⁶. *New Zealand Herald*, 18 December 1902, p.4.

⁴⁷. Webster, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

barrier. Without the financial resources to guarantee tours by English teams on their own account, New Zealand authorities sought to entice teams across the Tasman after tours of Australia. In this they were thwarted by Australian unwillingness to compromise any part of their own programme to New Zealand interests. Efforts to secure visits in 1892, 1895, 1898 and 1901 came to nothing.⁴⁸

Prior to Auckland's encounter with Australia in February 1905, the *Herald* concluded that urbanisation also militated against success.

The settlement of New Zealand - and we have every reason to congratulate ourselves upon the fact - has not tended to centralise population as it has for the most part in the colonies that now form the Commonwealth; and without a large and somewhat centralised population it is hardly possible to obtain many first-rate exponents of such a game as cricket. What cricket was in Australia forty years ago, when the early English teams played fifteen or eighteen representatives of Melbourne or Sydney, and secured an easy victory, that the game is necessarily at our New Zealand centres today. The process of attaining first-rate skill in the game has taken thirty years in Australia, even with a centralised population, and it may reasonably be expected to take longer here.⁴⁹

A *Press* columnist had also pointed out, in February 1903, that such a scattered population was not conducive to any form of professional cricket. The game was not therefore played on a sustained basis.⁵⁰

Given that the four main centres only contained one-third of the total European population between 1901 and 1911, this is a sound explanation. By comparison, Sydney in 1901 contained 36% of the New South Wales population, Melbourne contained 41% of Victorians and Adelaide 45% of South Australians. By 1911 the figures for Sydney and Melbourne had

⁴⁸. *New Zealand Referee*, 24 October 1891, p.26; 15 November 1894, p.33; NZCC, Committee Minutes, 21 December 1901.

⁴⁹. *New Zealand Herald*, 11 February 1905, p.6.

⁵⁰. *The Press*, 6 February 1903, p.2.

increased to 42% and 45% while Adelaide remained the same.⁵¹

After New Zealand's Basin Reserve "test" loss to Australia in March 1910, the *Evening Post* hinted that as well as systematic coaching, an injection of youth would also assist the New Zealand team.

Cricket in New Zealand has been a proper step child: allowed to hustle for its own existence and work out its own salvation as best it might. And to-day we have a New Zealand representative team composed mostly of men who have been playing a second rate game for years, simply for the lack of the necessary assistance. It is a bad sign to see a predominance of middle aged (in a cricket sense) men battling for their country on the cricket field: it indicates that the youngsters are not worthy.⁵²

A month later the *New Zealand Times* expressed a similar opinion while also pointing to a failure in translating cricketing enthusiasm from the generations of colonists to the native born. The *Times* complained that there was no longer a strong English Public School tradition in New Zealand cricket. Control of the game had shifted to New Zealanders "who, it must be confessed, have been content to play in a more or less languid manner and to take no pains to foster cricket among the young".⁵³ But this stands more as a matter of perception than fact. Many of the leading administrators were products of New Zealand's elite schools, and others such as Bell, Stevens and Wilding possessed English experience.

Among the more inventive theories on offer, was a contention in Canterbury that declining fortunes for cricket were due to the rise of lawn tennis. A *Press* editorial during the Australian XI match against Canterbury in December 1886 argued that cricket had become too slow to sustain public

⁵¹. S. Glynn, *Urbanisation in Australian History 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1970, pp.41-3.

⁵². *Evening Post*, 29 February 1910, p.6.

⁵³. *New Zealand Times*, 30 March 1910, p.4.

interest and that the elite were shifting their patronage to tennis. Tennis required less space, less players and less practice time, thereby enabling more people to play it proficiently. It also involved a player more constantly than the enforced idleness imposed by some parts of a cricket match. There was no likelihood that the English would ever abandon cricket, but its laws perhaps required modification if it was to remain as the leading sport of the Empire.

We do not wish to decry cricket or to make out that tennis is a superior game. We only assert our belief that if it be true that cricket is less popular than it was, it is largely owing to the increased popularity of tennis.⁵⁴

The frequency with which prominent cricketers such as C.G. Gore, R.D. Harman and Frederick Wilding collected New Zealand tennis titles tends to suggest that the two games were quite compatible.⁵⁵

But Wilding did concede that tennis and other sports imposed certain limitations on cricket. Interviewed during Australia's tour of New Zealand in 1905, he suggested that tennis, bowling, motoring and racing especially had all taken potential players from cricket and limited the opportunities for practice among many existing players.

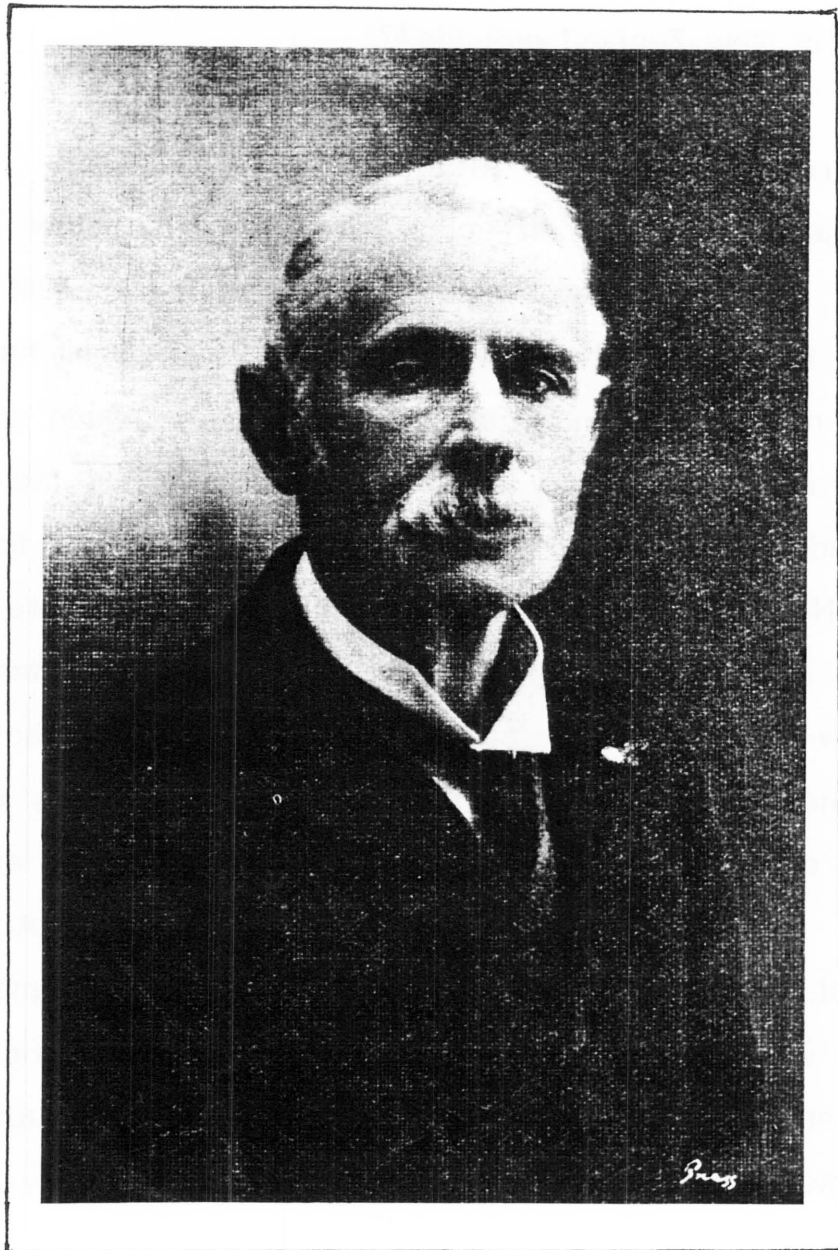
I say this without wishing to attack racing or any other sport. In the old days every race day was used for the purposes of a cricket match. Of late years our players have had far less match practice than in the old times, and no amount of net practice will make up for the loss of match practice. Our cricketers are as strong, as active, as keen-sighted, and possess equally good natural qualifications as Englishmen or Australians, but they lack the nerve which men can only acquire by being put to the supreme test of frequent important matches.⁵⁶

Of course the rise of other sports was as much a phenomenon

⁵⁴. *The Press*, 1 December 1886, p.4.

⁵⁵. Elenio, op. cit., p.184.

⁵⁶. *New Zealand Referee*, 23 March 1905, p.53.



Frederick Wilding (1853-1945). A multi-talented sportsman who played cricket for Canterbury for two decades, Wilding was president of the Canterbury Cricket Association 1907-23 and three times president of the New Zealand Cricket Council. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14803)

in Australia as New Zealand. Wilding was therefore quick to endorse Armstrong and Laver's views on the substandard quality of New Zealand grounds.⁵⁷

Irrespective of their accuracy, these various explanations embody an acute awareness that New Zealand cricket had fallen well short of expectations. Implicit in this was a feeling that the New Zealand Cricket Council had failed in its role as a central administrative body. Much as some astute observers clearly understood the problems facing New Zealand cricket, it was nevertheless the fact that at the same time, New Zealand rugby and Australian cricket were forging ahead in terms of revenue, popular support and international achievements. It therefore remains to consider how such sustained failure was interpreted within a sporting ideology which conceived cricket in relation to questions of eugenics, moral metaphors, imperial unity and, in the Australian context, emergent nationalism. Such questions assume added clarity when it is remembered that New Zealand cricket was dominated in the nineteenth century by men of influence and education who took their nurturing role very seriously.

⁵⁷. Ibid.

SECTION THREE

CRICKETING IDEALS AND IDEAL CRICKET

The preceding chapters have documented what might be termed the structural elements of New Zealand cricket - the origins of the game in the main settlements and the processes by which a broad homogeneity emerged during the last years of the nineteenth century. What must now be examined are the wider meanings attached to these events. As Keith Sandiford stresses;

Cricket was much more than just another game to the Victorians. Indeed, they glorified it as a perfect system of ethics and morals which embodied all that was most noble in the Anglo-Saxon character. They prized it as a national symbol, perhaps because - so far as they could tell - it was an exclusively English creation unsullied by oriental or European influences. In an extremely xenophobic age, the Victorians came to regard cricket as further proof of their moral and cultural supremacy.¹

As much as these sentiments were applicable in Britain, they were equally poignant for colonies which constantly looked to the Mother Country as a measure of their own cultural growth and sophistication.

The first of these chapters considers the different moral metaphors associated with cricket and their relevance to various sections of New Zealand society. New Zealand observers reiterated many of the familiar maxims regarding cricket, manliness and morality. They also endorsed standard Victorian proscriptions against women's cricket. But, unlike the role of cricket in many other parts of the Empire, there

¹. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.1.

was never a racial component within the New Zealand game. When combined with the restrictions on class participation outlined earlier, the result was a conception of cricket which only embodied the views of a small Anglocentric elite. It was this same elite which articulated the all important public face of New Zealand cricket.

The conventional rhetoric of rational recreation or muscular Christianity associated with Victorian cricket certainly had some bearing on the game in New Zealand. But the greater tendency was to intellectualise New Zealand cricket in terms of an imperial metaphor which stressed the utility of the game as a means of keeping the most distant colony close to the spiritual heart of the Empire. Yet there are clear parameters to this conception of cricket which require some explanation before proceeding any further.

The vast literature attending the expansion of the British Empire has tended to focus on the gaining and then losing of domination; whether Britain lost her control or whether emergent nationalists won theirs. But what of the intervening period? How was Britain able to maintain her influence for so long with such a small administrative and military presence and comparatively few major incidents?²

Brian Stoddart offers an explanation which shifts the emphasis from military power to cultural power - defined as a set of common beliefs and conventions concerning behaviour which were able to bind the Empire in relative harmony.

2. Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response", pp.649-50. For example, the Indian Civil Service cadre numbered only a thousand in the period 1858-1947.

Primary among these were English language and literature which served the most important function of mediating imperial objectives and ideologies from government circles to the indigenous or native born population. Another obvious force is sport, and especially cricket.³ Indeed it is quite apparent from earlier chapters that Wakefield colonists, soldiers and colonial administrators perceived the game as vital in their endeavours to replicate English social order and convention in New Zealand.

Of course the stakes were much higher in those parts of the Empire with a predominantly non-white population. In these lands, cricket served as a subtle means of bridging cultural differences and assisting assimilation as a means of social control. If indigenous cultures - and especially their traditional elites - could be encouraged to adopt the games and pastimes of the dominant colonising power, then the path to harmonious political and administrative interaction was sure to be much smoother. The dynamics of cultural power as they relate to Indian and West Indian cricket are well enough known as to require no further elaboration at this point.⁴

It must be remembered that the diffusion of sport as a device for social and racial harmony operated outside the bounds of formal imperial policy-making. The relatively informal means and nature of its imposition ensured that sport did not produce an instinctive backlash in the manner commonly caused by military action or other more direct

³. Ibid., pp.651-2.

⁴. See R. Cashman, *Patrons, Players and the Crowd: The Phenomenon of Indian Cricket*, New Delhi, 1980; J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, London, 1986; H.McD. Beckles & B. Stoddart, eds, *Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture*, Manchester, 1995.

statements of British primacy. As Brian Stoddart explains, "Its capacity to masquerade as an apolitical agency enhanced its ability to influence, because it appeared as one area of the social arena in which otherwise differing peoples might meet".⁵ This also implies that rather than a one dimensional process whereby the colonising power simply imposed its cultural values, what is commonly termed "cultural imperialism", the diffusion of sport throughout the British Empire is better served by an elaboration of Antonio Gramsci's ideas relating to "cultural hegemony". As Gramsci uses the term, it conveys an interaction between rulers and ruled of much greater complexity than simple domination by the former over the latter. Allen Guttmann explains the position in these terms; "the most stable form of rule is one in which the strong (who are never all-powerful) have their way only after the weak (who are never completely powerless) have their say".⁶

Yet the encouragement of British games soon assumed proportions somewhat removed from the objectives of the colonisers. A combination of indigenous endeavour, and of expanding immigrant and native born populations of European origin, ensured that by the end of the nineteenth century many colonies were able to pursue sport with a commitment and skill equal, if not superior, to that on the fields at "Home". The implications for traditionally deferential imperial relationships, rising colonial assertiveness and later strands of emergent nationalism were far reaching - especially when

5. Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response", pp.660-1.

6. A. Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, New York, 1994, pp.4-6,172-80.

the victors were non-white. The nature and meaning of West Indian cricket is obviously instructive here. But of more significance, given its proximity to New Zealand, is the case of Australia and the role of cricket within the fabric of Anglo-Australian relations.

There were four distinct phases to the cricketing relationship which are symptomatic of broader Australian attitudes to Britain. The first English touring teams during the 1860s were greeted with humility and deference and portrayed very much in a tutelage role. Australians conceived themselves as little more than transplanted Englishmen with a desire to learn from the visitors' display of "cricketing perfection".⁷ However, a series of Australian victories during the 1870s, firstly by odds and then on even terms, and the successes of the first Australian teams to visit England in 1878, 1880 and 1882, prompted a significant shift from deference to colonial self-assertion. These performances helped to subdue earlier social Darwinist fears concerning the blight of convictism in Australian settlement and physical deterioration in a hot southern climate. They also acted in a more overt fashion to highlight a healthy climate, open spaces and an apparently egalitarian social order which lay at the heart of Australian successes.⁸

Yet this was some way short of being stridently nationalistic or anti-English. Rather it was an Anglo-

7. K.S. Inglis, "Imperial Cricket: Test Matches Between England and Australia 1877-1900", in R. Cashman & M. McKernan, eds, *Sport in History: The Making of Modern Sporting History*, St Lucia, 1979, pp.166-7; W.F. Mandle, *Going it Alone: Australia's National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, Ringwood, Vic., 1978, p.27.

8. Mandle, *op. cit.*, p.28.

Australian middle-class ideal which stressed Australia's perceived strength within, as opposed to independence from, the Empire.⁹ Moreover, a decade of setbacks on the field, bitter personal and inter-colonial politicking off it and a consequent decline in public support for cricket during the 1880s served to dilute any excessive optimism. It was not until the mid 1890s that Australian cricket began to regain its status, and then it was to undertake a gradual shift from colonial assertiveness to emergent nationalism.¹⁰

As working class, and especially Irish, elements within Australia came to see certain tenets of imperialism as little more than English nationalism, cricket assumed centre stage in a rhetoric of democracy, independence and a distinct Australian culture.¹¹ While a thorough commitment to anti-imperial nationalism might logically have disposed Australians against an essentially English institution such as cricket, the movement instead drew strength from the rewards of beating the Mother Country at its own game. Early in 1898, when political federation of the Australian colonies was by no means a certainty, the *Sydney Bulletin* responded to Australia's victory over Andrew Stoddart's England touring team with the observation that "This ruthless rout of English cricket will do - and has done - more to enhance the cause of Australian nationality than could ever be achieved by miles of

⁹. R. Cashman, "Symbols of Unity: Anglo-Australian Cricketers, 1877-1900", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.7, No.1, 1990, p.97.

¹⁰. W.F. Mandle, "Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century", in T. Jaques & G.R. Pavia, eds, *Sport in Australia*, Sydney, 1976, pp.225-46.

¹¹. Cashman, "Symbols of Unity", pp.97,109; Holt, op. cit., pp.229,232-3.

erudite essays and impassioned appeal".¹²

Such responses pose obvious problems for sporting imperialism. Cricket, which had been exported as a means of unity and social control within Empire, came to be used in some quarters as a means of drawing apart and emphasising a separate identity. Other, more extreme, examples raise issues which are no less significant. The development of Kilikiti in Tonga and Samoa, and of cricket in the Trobriand Islands, represent a complete distortion of the original English model to suit local conditions and customs.¹³ In short, one is returned to a conception of sporting diffusion as an interactive process rather than one imposed from above.

In many respects the foregoing summary holds relevance in so far as it clarifies much that is not applicable to New Zealand cricket. Firstly, the dynamics of Maori/European relations, and especially the very rural nature of the Maori population, were not of a sort which created a mediatory role for cricket - a predominantly urban game. Secondly, the timing and legacy of systematic colonisation was the creation of a dominant culture which clung to ideals of England and Englishness far longer than that in the other white dominions. Thirdly, aside from a brief period in Canterbury, there is no sense in which New Zealand cricket was ever associated with any notion of either colonial assertiveness or, more particularly, emergent nationalism. While rugby became, firstly, an assertion of New Zealand's contribution to Empire,

12. Quoted in Inglis, *op. cit.*, p.169.

13. Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response", pp.666-70.

and later a component of a more independent New Zealand identity during the twentieth century, cricket lingered within a much narrower and deferential imperial construct.

There are three distinct periods in the international dimension of New Zealand cricket which serve to clarify the ideology surrounding it. With the exception of brief moments of confidence on the part of Canterbury, the earliest English and Australian tours of New Zealand during the period 1864 to 1888 encapsulate a rhetoric which glorified the power and endurance of the Empire and in which New Zealand was a humble and imperfect part. This is the central theme of Chapter Thirteen.

Chapter Fourteen, examining cricketing contacts with Australia during the period 1890 to 1910, juxtaposes the increasing formalisation of New Zealand cricket with its failure to progress relative to the Australian model. Important to this discussion are elements of provincialism and provincial rivalries which hindered efforts to create a sense of national unity within New Zealand cricket.

Chapter Fifteen examines the enduring Anglophilia of New Zealand cricket between 1900 and 1950. As a contrast to the competitiveness of Australian cricket, it chronicles an idealisation of the English game which placed a premium on "form" rather than the attainment of victory. Moreover, there is a perpetuation of the earlier imperial rhetoric which is consistent with New Zealand's more Anglocentric proclivities relative to Australia during the twentieth century. As a basis for drawing the various strands of this thesis together, it seems that New Zealand cricket finally succeeded during the

1930s in approaching the objective which it had set itself a century earlier - to play the game in a manner more English than the English.

CHAPTER TWELVE
A PHYSICAL AND MORAL AGENT
THE GROWTH AND LIMITS OF A CRICKETING IDEOLOGY
1860-1914

Within Victorian and Edwardian culture, cricket served as a metaphor for a wide range of equally significant and inter-related social objectives. The relationship between physical and mental health, the maintenance of appropriate standards of morality, the cultivation of "manly" character, British cultural and racial superiority and British martial superiority were all linked to the encouragement of cricket. If anything, these themes were more accentuated in Britain's colonies where the standard rhetoric was for a longtime coloured by equally strong concerns over the quality of the new society in relation to the ideal of the "Mother Country". In this respect New Zealand provides no exception.

Aside from classical Greece, from whence they drew so much inspiration, there have been no more acutely health conscious people than the Victorians. Under their tutelage, physiology and psychology emerged as separate approaches to medicine, and physical training became a vital component of overall physical culture. On the one hand, there was a utilitarian pragmatism aimed at providing a counter to various social ills.¹ Primary among these were alcoholism and sexual

¹. J.A. Mangan & J. Walvin, "Introduction" in Mangan & Walvin, eds,

immorality - the former of which certainly became a subject for New Zealand commentators. But above all else, the new "mania" stressed the interdependence of a healthy body and a healthy mind.² Without achieving the former, one could not hope to possess the latter - or as David Newsome neatly expresses it, "I act therefore I am".³

It was inevitable that a powerful alliance emerged between health and organised sport. Indeed, both Bruce Haley and Keith Sandiford have suggested that the Victorian preoccupation with health was an essential means of rationalising the place of sport in society. Earlier nineteenth century fears that sport may contribute to delinquency and to an uneasy blurring of distinctions between the elite and the masses were replaced by an idealisation of the role of sport in the quest for higher human excellence. As Haley explains, sport provided a way of "reconciling the pleasure of bodily self-awareness with the duty of moral self-improvement".⁴

To the obsession with health, Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley and a proliferation of cricketing clerics added an important religious dimension - "muscular Christianity" - which stressed the bond between sport, manliness and godliness. Precisely what was meant by manliness in Victorian terms is not always easy to define. Honesty, maturity and a strong sense of moral duty were certainly paramount, as was Kingsley's emphasis on robust energy and physical vitality.⁵

Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940, Manchester, 1987, p.5.

2. B.E. Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, Harvard, 1978, pp.3-4.

3. Newsome, op. cit., p.197.

4. Haley, op. cit., p.258; Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p.34.

5. Newsome, op. cit., pp.195-7; See also, N. Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*,

Keith Sandiford summarises the movement in these terms;

The Victorians revived the medieval concept of the chivalrous knight and emerged with the notion of the Christian cricketer. Godliness and Manliness, spiritual perfection and physical power, became inextricably interwoven. It was not likely, in their view, that a feeble body could support a powerful brain.⁶

These were precisely the sentiments at the heart of the public school educational ideal outlined earlier. And as with the schools, cricket, above all other sports, was the vehicle through which muscular Christianity was articulated. As the oldest of the formalised English games, it was also conceived as the one least tainted by vice and human foibles.⁷

Inevitably, both the spiritual and physical metaphors also fused with notions of imperial virility and unity. The qualities required of an archetypical sporting Christian were just those required to maintain the frontiers of Empire. Implicit is an explanation of the perceived cultural and racial superiority of Britons over other Europeans.⁸ While many commentators were obliged to acknowledge the military and commercial abilities of rival European nations and empires, especially France and Germany, they had no hesitation in claiming that it was a superior attitude to, and execution of, athleticism which elevated Britain to its primacy in world affairs.

Any discussion of the metaphors associated with cricket in New Zealand rests largely in a secular and imperial context. The vast majority of rhetoric was inspired by the visits of

Cambridge, 1985, pp.1-28.

⁶. Sandiford, *Cricket and The Victorians*, p.36.

⁷. Ibid, pp.42-3.

⁸. Newsome, op. cit., p.200.

English and Australian touring teams and the implications which their presence held for imperial unity. While muscular Christianity held some influence within the New Zealand school system, there is almost no sign of an independent religious or literary tradition underpinning New Zealand cricket. Like all colonies, New Zealand took time to develop its own strata of middle-class intellectuals capable of articulating such ideas. Moreover, there are no systematic links between cricket and the church in New Zealand. This may stem from the fact that cricket was primarily an exercise in replicating familiar English custom rather than fulfilling a native civilising role as it did in other parts of the Empire. Within this construction there was a much less obvious or necessary role for the church to play.

Without doubt, the elite secondary schools provide the richest source of cricketing moral metaphors. Beyond these institutions one is reliant upon the press - a source which demands close scrutiny in terms of both its reflection and diffusion of opinion. Of greater significance are the limits of the ideology itself. The New Zealand emphasis on "manly" sporting values employs the same brand of Victorian chauvinism and quasi-medical determinism which prevailed in Britain. Women's cricket, far more than any other sport played by women, was criticised and marginalised as a threat to the masculine construct. That which was played in New Zealand was marked by rigid bounds from which it departed at its peril. At the same time New Zealand cricket lacks the racial dimension familiar to so much of what was embodied by muscular Christianity in other parts of the British Empire.

While Maori players made a disproportionate contribution to the formative years of New Zealand rugby, and were received with predictable Victorian sentiment, only an elite few played cricket in any publicly visible context. Equally, and in view of the limitations on blue-collar cricket outlined in earlier chapters, one can not be at all sure that either moral or Imperial ideology penetrated working class consciousness to any significant degree. Thus, when subjected to the trinity of race, gender and class, the publicly visible face of New Zealand cricket - that which conveyed its imperial and international themes - was somewhat less than representative.

The most common ideological approach to New Zealand cricket during the mid nineteenth century stressed the physical and mental attributes required on the field as a metaphor for qualities of life off it. As the *New Zealander* reflected during Wellington's first visit to Auckland in December 1862:

[T]he very training and education necessary to the acquisition of knowledge of it demand[s] a keen and sharp discipline of brain, eye and hand, which imparts a consequent influence upon the moral character, inspiring confidence in difficult situations, suggesting resources in danger, exciting a laudable ambition to excel, and an energy in the performance of every duty.⁹

Those who had been trained properly on the cricket field would ultimately be the fittest, bravest and most skilled soldiers. In similar vein, *The Press* heralded the visit of George Parr's All England XI to Christchurch in February 1864 by reminding its readers that the object of all games lay not in winning, but in

⁹. *New Zealander*, 20 December 1862, p.5.

the healthful benefits to be derived from participation.

The object is of course worthless, but the habits of discipline induced in attaining it last a man for life, not only by hardening the muscles and strengthening the nerves, and expanding the lungs, and making the whole man a nobler and more perfect animal, capable of attaining to a far higher degree of physical enjoyment, but still more by accustoming him to habits of self-denial and self-sacrifice for a cause in which his selfishness is utterly lost.¹⁰

Kingsley and Hughes could not fault the emphasis on steadiness, discipline and the need for a perfect harmony between body and mind. Nor could they have faulted the *New Zealand Times* when it speculated on the reasons for cricket's primacy over other games.

How this game became the national sport of Englishmen is difficult to say. Perhaps it may have been because no other creates in so high a degree a demand for all the qualifications produced by first-class physical training, strength, and speed, the harmonious action of eye, hand and foot, quickness of eye, courage and endurance, capacity for individual resource, with complete subjection to discipline.¹¹

As the next chapter will show, the *Times* could be equally forthright about a Wellington representative team which consistently failed to match these objectives in its encounters with English and Australian tourists.

Promoting good health was obviously balanced by the desire to prevent bad health. Here, cricket was presented as a deterrent to the mid-Victorian proclivity for excessive drinking and smoking. The *New Zealand Herald*, moved by the proliferation of new clubs in Auckland at the end of 1865, provided an unequivocal endorsement of cricket as a counter to disease and excess.

[I]t at once becomes a powerful antagonist to disease - a strong opponent of over-indulgence and the too free use of alcoholic stimulants as aid to digestion, and a benefit to society. It is therefore justly entitled to the support of all fathers of families and those who have the training and education of our youth, and we trust that it will ever continue to enjoy the

¹⁰. *The Press*, 17 December 1863, p.2

¹¹. *New Zealand Times*, 25 January 1882, p.2.

popularity which it has now acquired.¹²

In February 1867, C.B. Borlase, MHR and soon to be President of the United Wellington CC, informed a dinner for the visiting Nelson team that "Cricket [is] a manly game, and it [is] very much better that young men should devote their time to it than spend it in public houses or like places".¹³ It was perhaps selective morality which allowed Borlase to turn a blind eye to the well documented extravagances of cricketing dinners and the considerable patronage given to the game by publicans in many New Zealand towns.

In Dunedin the *Otago Witness* was no less concerned with the temperate habits of cricketers, but also felt that sports such as cricket, football and golf would go some way to negating certain consequences of industrialisation. The mechanisation of the workplace had reduced the physical emphasis in labour to the point where man had become "the finger adjusting the machinery of science, rather than the strong arm creating results by its own muscular energy". It was therefore vital to encourage sport and physical exercise among Dunedin youth - an objective which would be greatly aided by early closing, the Saturday half-holiday and better climate.¹⁴

As ever in the course of such discussions, some of the strongest rhetoric was reserved for those who appeared to take no interest in sport. During a sometimes heated debate on "manly exercise" in the *Christchurch Press* during August 1867, "Dumb Bells" mounted a scathing attack on the sedentary

¹². *New Zealand Herald*, 4 December 1865, p.5.

¹³. *Wellington Independent*, 19 February 1867, p.4.

¹⁴. *Otago Daily Times*, 26 September 1863, p.5.



Muff cricket match - Lancaster Park 1884. This group is typical of the many unusual matches that were played in aid of various charities during the late nineteenth century. (Canterbury Pilgrims' and Early Settlers' Association Collection, Canterbury Museum: Ref.9499)

and effeminate recreational activities of many clerks and non-sportsman.

It is true that some of them find great amusement in arraying their persons in gorgeous apparel and slowly perambulating the streets for the purpose of displaying the same, carefully avoiding however the more frequented ... thoroughfares lest ... some speck of mud should chance to light upon their boots or a collision with some misguided chimney-sweep should disarrange the elaborate adjustment of their neckcloth or the graceful disposition of their coat tails.

Development of muscle among the youth of Christchurch depended on the encouragement of football and rowing, cricket in summer and a gymnasium for all weathers.¹⁵ While some questioned the gloomy prognosis of "Dumb Bells" as to the true state of sporting patronage in Christchurch, none questioned his basic criticism of the non-sportsman or his general assumption of a link between manly character and physical exertion.¹⁶

Cricket worked as a physical and moral agent because it was held to be accessible to all classes. During the difficult years of the early 1880s, when blue-collar cricketers were frequently in dispute with the Otago Cricket Association, the *Otago Daily Times* could still insist that the game was untrammelled by class distinctions.

Self-control, patience, perseverance, are all requisite to efficiency in cricket. Class prejudices are broken down, and the power of working with others for a common object, so necessary to success in life, is fostered. Above all, cricket accustoms boys and men to be fair, and not to take mean advantage however close may be the contest.¹⁷

Two years later *The Press* offered a similarly egalitarian opinion when welcoming a visiting Australian team. It claimed that cricket was a very democratic game because it was not

¹⁵. *The Press*, 1 August 1867, p.2.

¹⁶. *Ibid*, 2 August 1867, p.2; 9 August 1867, p.2; 20 August 1867, p.2.

¹⁷. *Otago Daily Times*, 2 February 1884, p.2

necessarily expensive. "Persons of all sorts and conditions in life meet on the cricket field, on equal terms, and enjoy themselves without a thought about social distinctions".¹⁸ Given that expense was perhaps the greatest impediment to New Zealand cricket even at the highest level, such observations tell more of prevailing idealism than prevailing reality.

It was not simply that cricket embraced so many qualities essential to a physically robust and morally pure being, it was at the same time uniquely English. While other nations may have been capable of competing with Britain in commercial volume or technological innovation, all of them lacked the quintessential elements of athleticism which ensured the durability of such a large British Empire.

At the beginning of the 1860-61 season, the *Lyttelton Times* informed its readers that cricket was one of the prime distinguishing features between Britain and her traditional antagonists - France, Russia and Germany.

It is a curious fact that foreigners, though they copy English sports and aim at doing them in English style, have never attempted to introduce the game of cricket into their several countries. The Frenchman, the Russian and the German all hunt, shoot and race, and try to carry out the sport after the English model, though they all fail more or less in the attempt; but who ever saw one or other able to handle a bat decently, or send the near stump flying with a ripping round hander, or even catch or throw a ball in any other style than that peculiar one adopted by young ladies when they attempt the game.¹⁹

When the Tasmanian team arrived in Dunedin in February 1884 the *Otago Daily Times* was moved to an equally xenophobic summary.

¹⁸. *The Press*, 1 December 1886, p.4.

¹⁹. *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1860, p.4.

Continental nations are unable to understand how Englishmen can play at games with such earnestness. Without quoting the hackneyed saying of the Duke of Wellington, we may say that the lessons cricket teaches are just those features which distinguish the British character in every department of life and have made our national pride not altogether empty.²⁰

No doubt these views were reinforced by the volume of international cricket being played. Tasmania were the fifth touring team to visit New Zealand in seven years, and three more were to arrive before the end of the decade.

When, during the Australian tour of 1905, the *New Zealand Herald* discussed the unique Englishness of athleticism, it went so far as to appropriate American football and Canadian lacrosse as conclusive proofs of the British origin of the North American population. But what was more revealing to the *Herald* was the lack of sporting credentials displayed by those outside the British Empire.

Other European nations have never developed the taste for these things in any considerable degree, and even when brought into intimate contact with our own people, they are slow to do so. The Latin races of Europe have no national out of door games of mingled skill and endurance in which all classes of the people can join, and even the Teutonic and Slavonic races develop such a taste but slowly, so that it is hardly an exaggeration to claim such games, with all that they imply, as a heritage of our own. Nor is it easy to estimate fully the value of a heritage of this kind either to the individual or to the society which possesses it Even in a country like America, where there is a mixture of races, the popularity of cricket has suffered because it appeals but little to the instincts of the French race in Canada and the Germans and other European races that form so large a percentage of the population of the United States.²¹

These sentiments, expressed in 1905, were little removed in form or meaning from those of 1860. Half a century of development in New Zealand cricket had altered much in the shape and scale of the game, but had not apparently altered its ideological significance.

²⁰. *Otago Daily Times*, 2 February 1884, p.2.

²¹. *Ibid*.

Devoting more space to this rhetoric would add volume but not variety. The basic terms of the moral metaphors within New Zealand cricket remained uniform over time and place. Moreover, there is no indication of any challenge to it. In Britain there was a strong current of anti-athleticism which manifested itself even at Eton and other public schools.²² The only comparable attitude evident in New Zealand was a conventional desire to keep the sporting ethos in proportion, and especially to direct school sport away from the excesses of competitiveness.²³

Yet there are other more overt constrictions on the New Zealand cricketing metaphor. Not least is its lack of any form of racial dimension. Unlike India, the West Indies and parts of Africa where sport held a crucial mediating and harmonising role between indigenous and colonising cultures,²⁴ there is no evidence of any deliberate cultivation of Maori cricket for similar purposes.

The limitations on Maori cricket stem, in large part, from the rural base of the Maori population. Most belonged to scattered rural communities. Only 11.2% were urbanised by 1936 and 19% by 1945. It was not until the late 1960s that Maori became a predominantly urban people.²⁵ Thus the considerable urban bias of New Zealand cricket, outlined in earlier chapters, was even more applicable to Maori.

22. See for example, C. Dewey, "'Socratic Teachers': Part 1 - The Opposition to the Cult of Athletics at Eton 1870-1914", *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.12, No.1, (April 1995).

23. For example, *New Zealand Herald*, 2 September 1907, p.6.

24. See Mangan, *Games Ethic and Imperialism*, passim.

25. M. King, "Between Two Worlds", in Rice, op. cit., p.289.

Conversely, the pronounced Maori presence at all levels of New Zealand rugby is in large part a reflection of the fact that urban constraints did not apply as strongly to the winter code. The size of the Maori population was also a factor. By 1890 Europeans outnumbered Maori by fourteen to one, and the Maori population reached an estimated low point of 42,113 in 1896.²⁶ Further, Maori were very unlikely to attend the sort of secondary schools which produced a large proportion of local and provincial cricketers. By 1935 only 8.4% of Maori aged 13 to 17 were attending secondary schools of any kind.²⁷

Quantifying Maori involvement in cricket is a matter for some speculation. It is quite likely that Maori players participated in some of the earliest games arranged by missionaries during the mid 1830s. Beyond this there are only isolated references - and most of these from North Canterbury. There was a keen Maori following for cricket in the vicinity of Kaiapoi, Rangiora and Rapaki during the 1870s and 1880s. Yet the only formally reported match was that of January 1883 when the Kaiapoi United CC defeated the "Native" club.²⁸

Surprisingly, there seems to have been very little cricket played at the leading Maori secondary schools - St Stephens and Te Aute College in Hawkes Bay. Te Aute under the headmastership of J.C. Thornton, 1878-1912, subscribed to many familiar English public school values. Indeed, the College, was invited by the New Zealand Cricket Council to participate in the first tournament for the Heathcote Williams

²⁶. Ibid, p.286.

²⁷. Ibid, p.289.

²⁸. A. Anderson, ed, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, Dunedin, 1994, p.466; *Lyttelton Times*, 24 January 1883, p.4.

Schools Shield in 1908. But there is no mention of cricket at Te Aute until at least the 1920s.²⁹

The six Maori first-class cricketers who appeared prior to 1920 were all very much part of urban European society. John Grey (Jack) Taiaroa (1862-1907), the son of Hori Kerei Taiaroa, Ngai Tahu leader and MHR, was educated at Otago Boys' High School and became a solicitor in Hastings. He was a member of the first New Zealand rugby team to tour Australia in 1884, set a New Zealand long jump record during the 1880s and represented Hawkes Bay as a batsman throughout the 1890s.³⁰ Another Maori player, D. "Friday" Tomoana, played in one game for Hawkes Bay against Poverty Bay in 1902-03.³¹

Another cricketer with strong rugby connections was William Thomas "Tabby" Wynyard (1867-1938). Educated at Devonport School, Auckland, he finished his career as district manager of the New Zealand Department of Agriculture in Wellington. He developed as a fine all-round sportsman, representing Auckland and Wellington at athletics, cricket and rugby, as well as being an accomplished billiards player, cyclist, golfer and oarsman. A member of the New Zealand Native Football team which toured Britain in 1888-89, Wynyard also represented New Zealand in Australia in 1893. He was later a committee member of the Auckland Cricket Association.³²

Wiri Aurunui Baker (1892-1966), a product of Joseph

29. K. Tyro & K. Scarlett, *Te Aute College 125th Anniversary 1854-1979*, Pukehou, 1979.

30. Chester & McMillan, *Encyclopedia*, p.195.

31. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p.426.

32. G.J. Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: The 1888-89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1993, pp.139-40.

Firth's cricketing tutelage at Wellington College, played as a batsman in 34 matches for Wellington between 1912 and 1930 and twice for New Zealand against New South Wales in 1923-24.³³ His brother, George, another Wellington College old boy, played three times for Wellington in 1920. Another Maori player, T.M. Grace, also played three matches for Wellington between 1911 and 1914.³⁴

John Hopere Wharewiti Uru (1868-1921), educated at Tuahiwi, North Canterbury, and Te Aute College, was a farmer and native land agent who served as MHR for Southern Maori 1918-21. He represented Canterbury at rugby, was a captain of the North Canterbury Mounted Rifles, and a member of the Maori contingent to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897 and to the Australian Commonwealth celebrations in 1901. As a fast bowler, Uru took nine wickets in his first game for Canterbury against Hawkes Bay in 1894, but none in his only other appearance against Wellington during the following season.³⁵

If the limited racial dimension of New Zealand cricket was in large part a question of geography and demography, the delineation of gender roles was entirely deliberate. As much as the ideal of cricket was concerned with physical and moral harmony, it retained in New Zealand a strong Victorian chauvinism. The expedient of sport for men was, for women, entirely secondary to the ideals of domesticity and femininity.

³³. McConnell & Smith, *op. cit.*, p.15.

³⁴. Carman, *Wellington Cricket Centenary*, *op. cit.*, pp.119-25.

³⁵. Scholefield, *op. cit.*, Vol.1, p.413; Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp. 317,319.

The prevailing Victorian attitude to women's sport has been sufficiently well documented elsewhere.³⁶ Broadly speaking, Victorian opposition to women's sport was couched as a quasi-medical concern for the preservation of their maternal function. Vigorous sporting endeavour posed a grave threat to reproductive capability. Moreover, within prevailing maxims of modesty and decorum, sport was both ungraceful and unfeminine. From this stemmed a more practical impediment, whereby accepted norms of dress - voluminous skirts and tight sleeves in particular - posed immediate difficulties for all but the most sedate forms of exercise.³⁷

Consequent to an emerging acceptance of higher education for girls and women during the last third of the nineteenth century, there was also acceptance of physical activity as a necessary component of female development. In ideology and organisation many of the Victorian girls' public schools followed close to the model of their male counterparts.³⁸ But there were clear limitations to this. The sports available to women and girls tended to be those such as tennis, croquet, golf and, later, cycling, which were either individual or less traditionally associated with an overtly male domain. These were sports commonly pursued as social, rather than competitive, activities within a private sphere such as one's family or school.³⁹

³⁶. See J.A. Mangan & R.J. Park, *From "fair sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras*, (London, 1987); S. Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980*, London, 1984.

³⁷. S. Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since they won the Vote*, Auckland, 1993, p.238.

³⁸. K.E. McCrone, "Play up! Play up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girl's Public Schools", in Mangan & Park, op. cit, pp.97-129.

³⁹. Coney, op. cit., p.238; M.A.E. Hammer, "Something Else in the World to Live

Despite the positive sporting model provided by the girl's public schools, the idea of organised, competitive team sport for women remained anathema to male sporting administrators throughout the nineteenth century. One suspects that their reactions were as much a concern with preserving ideals of domesticity and femininity as preserving the integrity of their own games against "aping" by female players.⁴⁰

In this vein there were especially vitriolic reactions to proposals for a women's rugby tour of New Zealand in 1891. One critic suggested that the tour would involve a "degradation of womanhood to pander to a depraved public taste for the sake of getting money".⁴¹ Despite claims from the promoter of the team, Nita Webbe, that her players would respect and strictly adhere to the rules of the game, the *Auckland Star* flatly condemned the venture; "It is true that there have been some very popular 'kickists' on the stage, and female performers in the circus are a good 'draw' but the popular taste is still elevated enough to insist upon grace and beauty in such exhibitions by female athletes".⁴² The tour did not eventuate.

When, after 1900, women did gravitate towards team sports in greater numbers, they tended to opt for those such as basketball and hockey which possessed a less pronounced heritage. Hockey showed a marked increase, from one club in 1897 to ten provincial associations affiliated to the New Zealand Women's Hockey Association by 1908.⁴³

for: *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women in Auckland, 1880-1920*, MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1990, pp.4-37.

40. Hammer, *Ibid*, pp.38-9.

41. Quoted *Ibid*, pp.37-8.

42. Quoted *Ibid*, p.38.

43. *Ibid*; S.A.G.M. Crawford, "'Ones Nerve and Courage are in very Different Order out in New Zealand': Recreation and Sporting Opportunities for Women in a

As the oldest and most popular of team sports, and that which was most strongly associated with the cultivation of masculine physical and moral values, cricket posed particular problems for women during the nineteenth century. While Georgian women had played an active role in the game, this disappeared almost entirely during the Victorian era as the quest for manliness in cricket created a sharp contrast with orthodox notions of feminine weakness.⁴⁴ The revival in Britain came with the formation of the aristocratic White Heather CC in 1887, the beginning of cricket in the girls' public schools and the stimulus provided by the "Original English Lady Cricketers", a semi-professional group who played exhibition matches during the early 1890s. But the latter were obliged to play under assumed names as a counter to strong objections against female professionalism. Moreover, the volume of women's cricket remained very minimal and peripheral. None of the Oxford women's colleges could boast a cricket XI by 1914.⁴⁵

The diffusion of women's cricket in New Zealand followed almost exactly the pattern established in Britain. In so far as cricket secured any sort of hold, it was not until the early twentieth century, and then only in a select few of the leading girls' secondary schools. Moreover, this activity was circumscribed by the same range of medical and moral objections characteristic of its revival in Britain.

The first role for women in New Zealand cricket was as

Remote Colonial Setting", in Mangan & Park, op. cit., p.175.

44. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.43-4.

45. Ibid,

spectators. A report of a match between the Britannia CC and the garrison of Wellington in November 1846 expressed "regret that the day was not more congenial so that the fairer portion of creation might have enlivened the scene with their presence."⁴⁶ A similar fixture in Auckland at the end of 1859 was prefaced by a direct plea to female supporters.

The playing members of the Auckland club are exceedingly anxious in particular for the presence of the ladies when they thus meet solemn tourney, conscious no doubt, as were the knights of old, that there is nothing so inspiring as to have their deeds witnessed and approved by the eyes of their fair friends.⁴⁷

Another encounter a month later left the local press "gratified to see so many ladies on the ground"⁴⁸ No doubt the presence of women was seen as providing a civilising counter within a male gathering which not infrequently was marked by considerable gambling and the consumption of alcohol.

To cater for the female spectator, William Outhwaite published in 1883 *The Ladies Guide to Cricket, by a Lover of Both, with a Glossary of Technical Terms and Cricket Slang and the Laws of Cricket*. In so far as this lengthy and predictably patronising account of the game suggested that cricket might actually be played by women, in "ladies schools", it advocated "soft-ball" cricket rather than the conventional form.⁴⁹

The first reference to women playing cricket in New Zealand was to a "Ladies' cricket match" at Greytown in the

⁴⁶. *Spectator*, 5 December 1846, p.3.

⁴⁷. *New Zealander*, 10 December 1859, p.3.

⁴⁸. *Ibid*, 7 January 1860, p.3.

⁴⁹. W. Outhwaite, *The Ladies Guide to Cricket, by a Lover of Both, with a Glossary of Technical Terms and Cricket Slang and the Laws of Cricket*, Auckland, 1883, p.5.

Wairarapa on New Years Day 1867.⁵⁰ In 1886 "eleven Marahau girls" challenged eleven of Riwaka to a game "any time they like. Dinner and dance provided. All welcome". The response from Riwaka is not reported.⁵¹ There were apparently several games played in the Waikato during the late 1880s, and clubs appeared in Picton and Kimbolton, and at Tikohino near Waipawa, during the early 1890s.⁵²

The most consistent growth seems to have been in Auckland. In November 1890 the *New Zealand Graphic* reported on a growing interest in cricket: "About the suburbs already one is frequently coming across merry parties of girls in light summer dresses, armed with bats and wickets, just as we have been accustomed to seeing them the last few years with tennis rackets and shoes".⁵³ It seems, however, that this devotion to the game was shortlived.

There were active teams in Greymouth and Westport by 1907, and T.W. Reese makes reference to a fixture between Canterbury and Wellington women soon after the turn of the century - although this can not be substantiated.⁵⁴ Indeed, progress outside the schools was slow and sporadic. There were no active club competitions in any of the main centres until the 1920s, and the first provincial cricket associations, Auckland and Otago, were not formed until 1928. Canterbury followed in 1931, Wellington in 1932, Wanganui and Southland

⁵⁰. *Seventy Five Years of Cricket*, op. cit., p.5.

⁵¹. N. Joy, *Maiden Over: A Short History of Women's Cricket*, London, 1950, p.31. There is some possibility that this challenge was made in 1896, rather than 1886.

⁵². D. & P. Neely, op. cit., p.44; Coney, op. cit., p.239.

⁵³. Quoted in Hammer, op. cit., p.40.

⁵⁴. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, p.112; D. & P. Neely, op. cit., p.67, provide a photograph of a game in Hagley Park c1900. But there is no evidence that this was the same fixture.



Wellington East Ladies Cricket Team, 1909. Nothing is known of how often this team played or who their opponents were. Suffice it to say, they were given little support from the male cricketing community. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14799)

in 1933 and the New Zealand Women's Cricket Council in 1934.⁵⁵

The atmosphere surrounding much of the earliest participation in cricket by women was one of festivity and of a social rather than sporting objective. A match involving members of the Lancaster Park club in March 1888, in which the men used broomsticks and the women bats, was held in conjunction with an "at home" given by the "lady members". Many of Christchurch's leading citizens were present for an occasion which also included tennis, an ample afternoon tea and regular interludes from the Addington Brass Band.⁵⁶ In Auckland in 1891 "thirteen venturesome damsels" played "seven gentlemen batting left-handed with broomsticks".⁵⁷ In October 1895, at Bannockburn, Central Otago, a team of women defeated the local club (bowling left handed and batting with broomsticks) by 55 runs. Among the more unconventional dismissals noted by the Bannockburn *Argus* were "skirts before wickets", "improved before wickets" (?) and one player who retired in order to attend her baby.⁵⁸ In Wellington at the beginning of the 1902-03 season there was a "Ladies match and tea party" on the Wellington College ground to raise funds for survivors of the S.S. *Elingamite* shipwreck. The two teams were drawn from J.C. Wilkinson's Musical Comedy Company.⁵⁹ In none of these instances was the game of a character or

⁵⁵ A. Else, ed, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1993, p.434.

⁵⁶ Newspaper clipping, 7 March 1888, Wilding Papers, Canterbury Museum Library.

⁵⁷ Hammer, op. cit., p.40.

⁵⁸ *Bannockburn Cricket Union 1895-1995*, Bannockburn, 1995. I am particularly grateful to Sandra Quick for this reference.

⁵⁹ Neely, *100 Summers*, p.63.

intent to prompt any real concern for the fabric or integrity of cricket.

Efforts by women to engage in cricket of a more serious nature drew a rather different response from critics. Writing to the *New Zealand Graphic* on 18 October 1890, "Property" declared that cricket was not "at all a suitable game" for ladies. The game involved too much undignified activity, and it was "most ungraceful [to see] young ladies, or even middle aged dames, who ought to know better, flying after a cricket ball". No woman looked "nice" when she was running.⁶⁰ Others, while not ignoring the feminine aesthetic, suggested that cricket was a positive disadvantage to women and girls on "physiological" grounds. As William Chapple, a prominent Wellington doctor, argued in 1894;

It promotes *esprit de corps*; it favours manly and womanly relationships with competitors; it is practised in the open air and is exhilarating, recreative and attractive. The end of physical training in women, however, differs to some extent from that in men. The erect carriage, the graceful movements, the proportional frame, the personal deportment, the graceful gait, the unblemished hands - these are all attributes that are more valuable in women than in men, and they are attributes that should be valued, considered, and developed by any system of training that lays claim to physical education in women. However fascinating cricket may be as a sport amongst girls, it undoubtedly favours an ungainly gait, a stoop, an asymmetry, contracted shoulders and irregular and awkward movement of the arms.⁶¹

There is an obvious contradiction between these "irregular and awkward" characteristics and the stance of successive generations of schoolmasters who promoted cricket as a means of physical and moral refinement for boys. Chapple's apparently altruistic "physiological" concerns seem little more than antagonism towards female encroachment on a

⁶⁰. Quoted in Hammer, *op. cit.*, p.39.

⁶¹. W.A. Chapple, *Physical Education in our State Schools*, quoted in Hammer, *op. cit.*, p.41.

stringently male domain.

In light of such objections, women's cricket made its greatest progress not in the public arena, but in the more cloistered environment of the girls' secondary schools. Wellington Girls' College, Wanganui Girls' College, Woodford House, Hawkes Bay, and Mt Eden College, Auckland, were all playing reasonably regular cricket before 1900.⁶² They were joined during the next two decades by Auckland schools such as St Cuthberts, Diocesan High School and Auckland Girls Grammar School, and by Southland Girls High School.⁶³ Despite, or perhaps because of, the strong traditions of Canterbury in other spheres of the game, its girls' schools do not seem to have adopted cricket until the early 1930s.⁶⁴

Attitudes to cricket within the girls' schools were mixed. While some regarded it as a rather peripheral activity, others made strenuous efforts to improve their standard of play. *The Addastrian*, the Wanganui Girls' College magazine, observed in 1903 that "Cricket, unlike hockey, is not a game in which girls as a rule can excel. Practice may make us good batswoman, nature has made us fair fields, but nothing seems to make us expert over-arm bowlers".⁶⁵ Seven years later the same source was able to observe a degree of improvement:

Cricket has certainly improved, and girls show more spirit than

⁶² Coney, op. cit., p.242; P. Taylor, "The Development of Sport and Physical Exercise in Single-Sex Girls' Secondary Schools in New Zealand Between 1877 and 1914", Research Essay, University of Canterbury, no date, pp.26-7.

⁶³ Hammer, op. cit., pp.99,105,108,112; C. Smith, "Control of the Female Body: Physical Training at Three Secondary Schools, 1870-1920", B.A. Hons. Research Essay, University of Otago, 1993, p.47.

⁶⁴ B. Peddie, *Christchurch Girls High School, 1877-1977*, Christchurch, 1977, p.117. There was apparently no cricket at Christchurch Girls' High School until 1937, and not again until 1946.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Taylor, op. cit., pp.26-7.

formerly, but most of us require to cultivate bravery enough to meet the ball when it comes flying through the air. Why not meet the thing with a fixed face, and not show one's back, or try to double up into half one's natural size? However, girls are growing braver.⁶⁶

By 1916 there were 106 girls in the College cricket club, and annual matches were arranged with Palmerston North Girls' High School.⁶⁷

A cricket ground was provided at Southland Girls' High School by 1916, and, although there was a shortage of both equipment and opposition, the school magazine was positive about the prospects for cricket by 1920. "Knowing as we do the contempt of a masculine mind for a feminine attempt at games, we consider it a great tribute to our bowlers that their 'overarms' frequently draw forth exclamations of approval from admiring small boys".⁶⁸

But it was Auckland where the greatest progress was made under the guidance of Sarah Heap (1871-1960). Although the precise nature of her qualifications was never made clear, Heap acquired a reputation as an expert drill mistress and established the first comprehensive system of physical training for secondary school girls in New Zealand. She taught primarily at Auckland Girls' Grammar School and the Auckland Teachers' Training College, but was at various times involved with most of the other Auckland girls' secondary schools and with the YWCA.⁶⁹ These connections assisted the development of regular inter-school fixtures after 1914 - especially between Auckland Girls' Grammar and Diocesan High School -

⁶⁶. Quoted, *ibid*.

⁶⁷. G. Abbott, ed, *Wanganui Girls College, 1891-1991*, Wanganui, 1991, p.45.

⁶⁸. Quoted in Smith, *op. cit.*, p.47.

⁶⁹. C. Macdonald, M. Penfold & B. Williams, eds, *The Book of New Zealand Women*, Wellington, 1991, pp.279-80; Hammer, *op. cit.*, p.117.

and to games between pupils and old girls.⁷⁰

The new sense of dedication and confidence surrounding physical education and sport at Auckland Girls' Grammar is revealed in the comment of the Headmistress, Miss Butler, when presenting a bat to a member of the 1st XI.

I am only fearful that, seeing an embryo W.G. Grace in one of my school's daughters, Mr Tibbs will want her to play for the boys' school The boys may be scornful about a girl getting 101 runs, and ask who the bowler was. Well, she was a very good bowler, and one of a visiting team who came determined to conquer.⁷¹

Aside from the existing strength of the Auckland Grammar School 1st XI, one suspects that Mr Tibbs had stronger reasons for not recruiting the player concerned.

It is quite apparent, then, that any discussion of the moral values ascribed to cricket in New Zealand must be conducted within clear race and gender boundaries. But one must be equally cautious about its class dimensions. Previous chapters have demonstrated the social and demographic factors which contributed to white-collar predomination in representative cricket. It is by no means certain that responses to the ideology associated with the New Zealand game were any more inclusive.

Some of the earliest work on the diffusion of sporting ideologies, such as W.F. Mandle's writings on cricket and Australian nationalism, tended to deal only with the broadest and most observable interactions, such as those between the Australian colonies and the Mother Country. Yet it is vital to move beyond a monolithic approach, which assumes a united

⁷⁰. Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp.108,117,175.

⁷¹. *Ibid*, p.114.

response to the transplanted ideology, to discover what became of sport outside formal middle class institutions. For, as Richard Cashman points out, the monolithic approach places too great an emphasis on consensus while minimising the realities of sporting conflict within colonial society between such groups as officials, players, promoters and business interests.⁷²

The study of working class ideology and opinion, especially beyond an organised political element, is always circumscribed by scarcity of sources and the danger that some of what survives is a record of behaviour interpreted by and for middle class eyes. Nevertheless, one does not have to look far in either Britain or her colonies for evidence that the working class embraced organised sport without embracing the middle class ideals which underpinned it.

Contrasting responses to the tour of the 1888-89 New Zealand Native football team are a useful starting point. While their matches against the elite rugby clubs of southern England attracted a certain amount of imperial rhetoric and a much more acute awareness of the predominantly Maori composition of the team, such themes were almost entirely absent from coverage of the matches against working class teams in Yorkshire and Lancashire. There was an essentially immediate and localised outlook divorced from the exigencies of imperial policy and the ideals attached to sport by the middle class.⁷³

⁷². R. Cashman, "Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion?", in J.A. Mangan, ed, *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport, at home and abroad, 1750-1914*, London, 1988, pp.261-2.

⁷³.G.J. Ryan, "The Originals: The 1888-89 New Zealand Native Football

Of course the north/south dichotomy revealed by the Native team tour was only a minor symptom of a much deeper rift which culminated in the formation of the Northern Union (later Rugby League) at the end of 1895. Northern rugby, Welsh rugby and the professionalisation of soccer are perfect demonstrations of the working class appropriating bourgeois sport to suit the demands of their own culture. While many early clubs were founded with middle class finance and patronage, Stephen Jones suggests that

the working class was able to take out of games those elements, rituals and values which fitted into their own culture. Bourgeois control within governing bodies did not necessarily mean that sport was a vehicle of assimilation whereby canons of decorum, order and sportsmanship were simply refracted downwards into the working class.⁷⁴

Increasing spectator misconduct at football matches from the late nineteenth century onwards, was further proof that so-called respectable ideals did not survive in translation.⁷⁵

Although there was no major schism in English cricket, there was nevertheless a considerable disparity between the philosophy of the upper middle class who controlled the first-class game, and those who experienced cricket through the northern and midland leagues. Whereas first-class administrators apparently made very little effort to maximise the appeal or financial viability of their game,⁷⁶ the scheduling of league matches and the playing styles they demanded were geared firmly to the recreational patterns and

Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand", University of Canterbury, 1992, pp.48-67,101-37,164-6.

⁷⁴. S. Jones, *Sport, Politics and the Working Class: Labour and Sport in Inter-War Britain*, Manchester, 1988, pp.24-5. See also, H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1980, pp.128-9.

⁷⁵. W. Vamplew, "Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and Controls", *Journal of Sport History*, Vol.7, No.1, (Spring 1980).

⁷⁶. Sandiford & Vamplew, op. cit., passim.

demands of working class players and spectators. As Jeffrey Hill explains, "league cricket did not embody the very public display of social authority and deference that was a necessary accompaniment of the first-class game, and most clearly evident in the relationship between gentlemen amateurs and working class professionals".⁷⁷

The diffusion of cricket throughout the Empire reveals similar ideological discontinuities. Although much Indian cricket followed the model epitomised by K.S. Ranjitsinhji and the Chief's Colleges' which sought to replicate English public school ideals, others subverted the game for their own purposes. Many Princes played for personal aggrandisement, conspicuous consumption or political status - all objectives far removed from the purest amateur idealism.⁷⁸

But it was Australia where the greatest transformation occurred. During the 1880s and again in 1912 there were acrimonious power struggles between middle class officialdom and the more professional objectives of many players.⁷⁹ More indicative of working class sentiment were the gambling and barracking traditions which developed among Australian spectators. Both were criticised as antithetical to middle class norms, and gambling was largely suppressed by the 1880s. But despite middle class criticism of the taunting of visiting teams, and fears that barracking would translate into more overt disruption of the game, it has endured as an integral part of the Australian game. After the Test series of 1897-98, the England captain, Andrew Stoddart maintained

⁷⁷. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp.69-73.

⁷⁸. Cashman, "Cricket and Colonialism", p.264.

⁷⁹. *Ibid*, p.262; D. Montefiorie, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

that crowd intimidation played a significant role in his team's defeat. In this he was generally supported by Australian officials, but the practice remained fairly close to the surface of Australian cricket - and emerged in its strongest form during the "Bodyline" series of 1932-33.⁸⁰

Aside from a noticeable gambling fraternity at interprovincial matches during the 1860s and '70s, of whom many were undoubtedly middle class, one struggles to find obvious examples of the ideological subversion of cricket in New Zealand. Indeed, later chapters will suggest that New Zealand representative cricket was as close to the English amateur ideal as any in the British Empire. Yet the disputes within Otago cricket during the early 1880s, and the class distinctions which marked the composition of many clubs within the main centres, confirm that currents of class difference were present in the New Zealand game. Likewise, although the formation of the various suburban cricket leagues and associations were in part a response to the impediments to blue-collar cricket posed by the prevailing social structure, they also catered to a less formal and structured cricketing tradition somewhat at odds with the establishment game.

How far these demarcation lines can be extended to specific colonial working class interpretations of muscular Christianity and sporting imperialism is a moot point. But there is enough in the English and Australian examples to suggest that the monolithic approach is equally unrepresentative of New Zealand cricket. Given that accounts of New Zealand working-class sporting ideology are scarce to

⁸⁰. Cashman, "Cricket and Colonialism", pp.264-7.

say the least, one must always be conscious of the potential limitations on the rhetoric of muscular Christianity and sporting imperialism.

The pervasiveness of the message also has more practical limitations. Given that the vast majority of writing on New Zealand cricket, both descriptive and critical, is contained in newspapers, it is necessary to reflect on how widely these were circulated. The figures below, compiled by Ross Harvey, are mean percentages for the circulation of newspapers in relation to total population.⁸¹ The figures for larger towns and for the four main centres, where newspapers could be more easily circulated, are obviously higher. Moreover, there is no way of calculating the number of individuals who read each newspaper. But the available evidence hardly suggests saturation coverage.

1840-49	7.2%
1854-7	7.2%
1862-3	11.6%
1870-6	14.7%
1879	14.0%
1881	11.0%

In 1862 the *Otago Daily Times* produced c7000 issues daily to an Otago provincial population which had reached 49000 by 1864. At the same time the thrice weekly *Lyttelton Times* was producing 1500-2000 copies and *The Press* had a daily circulation which amounted to 5000 copies per week for a

⁸¹ R. Harvey, "Economic Aspects of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand Newspapers", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, Vol.17, No.2, 1993. I am particularly grateful to Luke Trainor for providing this reference, and for providing additional figures relating to it.

Christchurch population of c5000 and a total Canterbury population of c32,000. By 1881 the *New Zealand Herald* was producing 6750 copies daily for an Auckland city population of c31,000 and a provincial population of c100,000. The widely circulating *Otago Witness* produced 7250-8500 copies weekly to a Dunedin population of 40,000 and an Otago population of 134,000. The *Otago Daily Times* now offered 4000-6000 daily to the same market. The circulation of *The Press* in 1882 was 5000 daily for a Christchurch population of 26,000 and a provincial population of 112,000.⁸² On this basis, it is doubtful whether the ideological tracts on New Zealand cricket reached an especially wide audience. One might also add a lengthy discussion as to the extent to which the press created or reflected public opinion on these matters.

Notions of sport as moral metaphor were largely the property of an educated elite who exercised a disproportionate influence over New Zealand cricket. What remains is to consider this conception of cricket, and a more generalised imperial ideology, in relation to the various English and Australian teams which toured New Zealand between 1864 and 1914. The approach to these can not help but be monolithic, but that is no reason to underestimate its significance. Indeed, there is ample evidence in what follows of an enduring relationship between the rhetoric of colonial and imperial cricket and the broader attitudes of the most influential members of New Zealand's economic, political and social elite.

82. Figures derived from Harvey, op. cit., pp.59-60; C.J. Gibson, "A Demographic History of New Zealand", PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1971, pp.34-5, 51-2, 73.

THOMAS BRACKEN: WELCOME TO 1881 AUSTRALIAN XI

Sons of the giant islands of the South
 Whose praises are proclaimed from mouth to mouth,
 Whose deeds have taught Britannia that she
 Has children to be proud of o'er the sea -
 My men, though ready for to-morrow's fight,
 Are here with me to welcome you to-night
 To young Edina, nestling by the wave,
 The nurse of future heroes, true and brave.

This is no empty want, nor idle boast:
 The tow'ring hills that sentinel our coast
 Were formed to rear a bold and sturdy race -
 Strong-sinew'd Spartans, worthy of a place
 Upon the grassy fields with such as you,
 Willing to dare what you can dare and do:
 Not yet your equals - t'were to high a claim;
 For ye have climbed the highest rung of fame,
 And won the laurel wreaths that vet'rans wore
 In Britain's Isle, and battle trophies bore
 Across the ocean. Hail, victorious few!

We bring our friendship and our homage too,
 And lay them at your feet: yet, by and bye,
 As time goes on apace, my sons shall try
 To wrest your laurel crowns, and then to reign
 As cricket monarch's of Pacific's main.
 In years to come, when years have won their race,
 My sister here, Australia, must give place
 To me upon the green, but not till we
 Are fondly linked in closer unity,
 When concord blest and commerce fair shall hold
 Us closer together with a chain of gold.

Ye are the heralds of those coming days
 When on one flag one starry cross shall blaze
 And float above the sunny lands that rest
 In peaceful beauty on Pacific's breast;
 Ye are the harbingers of coming times
 When, clist'ring closer, all the golden climes
 Shall cling together for their common good,
 Untouched by discord and unstain'd by blood;
 When every contest shall be one of skill
 And generous rivalry each breast shall fill
 With emulation; when upon the green
 The bat shall rule, the sword no more be seen.

Welcome again! and though upon the field
 My sons, perchance, may be compelled to yield,
 I shall not grudge the victory, for we
 Are one in blood - Australia, to these
 I hold the hand of friendship.¹

¹, Quoted in Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, p117.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

HUMBLE IMITATORS AT THESE DISTANT ANTIPODES THE IMPERIAL CONNECTION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

From the arrival of George Parr's All England XI in February 1864 to the departure of Arthur Sim's Australian XI in March 1914, New Zealand retained a fascination with touring cricket teams which generally transcended any notion of victory or defeat or even of competitive play. During these five decades provincial and national teams secured only twelve victories from 175 matches against touring teams. Of these, three were against Tasmania, two against Fiji and two against the weak MCC team of 1906-07. Almost two-thirds of the fixtures pitted touring teams against local XVs, XVllls or XXlls. No English team played on even terms until 1902-03 and New Zealand did not meet Australia on even terms until 1905.² What, then, was so peculiarly important and attractive about these tours?

Despite its pervasiveness, the process of sporting diffusion throughout the British Empire was never part of any formally articulated policy. Indeed, Richard Holt and others stress that the more informal imposition of sport reduced opposition to it among indigenous peoples by avoiding the confrontational aspect implicit in military domination or coercion by fear.³ In so far as there was any kind of formal

2. Only 68 of the 175 fixtures are deemed first-class.

3. Holt, *op. cit.*, pp.212-3.

structure, it can best be seen in the development of international sporting contacts - and especially the multitude of touring cricket teams from 1859 onwards.

The scale of international touring was considerable. By 1900 fourteen English teams had been sent to Australia, two to India, two to the West Indies, four to South Africa and twelve to the United States. Of the touring teams to Australia, four carried on to New Zealand. The first separate tour of New Zealand, by Lord Hawke's England XI, came in 1902-03. In return, one Aboriginal and ten white Australian teams toured England, along with one South African, three American, one Canadian, one West Indian and two Parsee teams.⁴ The first tours between colonies were visits by various Australian teams to New Zealand. There were fourteen such tours between 1878 and 1914. Australia also visited South Africa for the first time in 1902-03, a tour reciprocated in 1910-11.⁵

While the tours were not evenly distributed or timetabled, they represent some of the strongest focal points in the sporting process. Above all, they provided a yardstick by which the colonies could easily measure their standards and progress against those of the Mother Country. The rhetoric of muscular Christianity which normally accompanied Victorian cricket was transformed into broader statements encompassing collective racial and social qualities and the shared culture of the British Empire.

New Zealand was no exception to this process. The anticipation and expectation which accompanied the hosting of

4. Mandle, "W.G. Grace as a Victorian Hero", p.355.

5. Payne & Smith, *op. cit.*, p.333.

English touring teams in 1864, 1877 and 1882, and equally the criticism which ensued when standards were not met, leaves no doubt that international cricket contacts were a crucial part of the process by which New Zealand sought to establish its niche within the Empire. To perform honourably on the field was a means of informing those at "Home" that New Zealand had inherited and maintained requisite standards of Englishness.

Yet New Zealand's most frequent cricketing contacts, and calamities, were against Australia, her nearest colonial neighbour and a land with which parity was otherwise maintained in an economic, political and social context. While much may be said of cricket and Empire, it is also important to examine an inter-colonial dimension and the place of cricket within late nineteenth century conceptions of colonial and imperial federation.

But what follows is as much about the dynamics of imperial and inter-colonial cricket as about interprovincial relationships. If New Zealand teams could not hope to defeat their Australian or English opponents, they could at least aim to lose with more honour and style than their provincial rivals. This also highlights what might be termed a "geography of interpretation". The extent to which press sources and public figures in each province imbued cricket with notions of moral value, political symbolism and imperial sentiment is consistent with the different patterns of development outlined in earlier chapters. As Canterbury possessed the strongest cricketing tradition, and began to make the greatest progress on the field, the expectations of its cricketers and cricketing

public assumed greater proportions than those of the rest of the colony. Indeed, it is possible to trace Canterbury cricket along similar lines to the transition of Australian cricket during the same period - a shift from deference and imperial tutelage to a certain degree of colonial assertiveness.

It is ironic that the starting point for New Zealand's entry into the wider world of cricket was in Dunedin - the centre with the least coherent cricketing tradition during its formative years. Shadrach Jones, a local entrepreneur who was building his fortune on the injection of capital and population caused by the recent Otago gold discoveries, was quick to see the potential of enticing George Parr's All England XI to venture across the Tasman after it had played in Melbourne during the 1863-64 season.

The possibility that Parr's team would visit New Zealand was voiced as early as July 1863. By early October large public meetings were being held in both Dunedin and Christchurch to rally public support and finance for the tour.⁶ In Dunedin rapid progress was made towards developing the Dunedin CC's rather unsatisfactory cricket ground. By the end of November tour funds were such as to allow a tender for the enclosure of the ground with 600 yards of seven foot high paling fence, and the building of a 375 foot long grandstand. Opinion was expressed that the facilities were as good as those in Melbourne.⁷

Such unprecedented public support for cricket was in sharp contrast to the apathy and lack of funds which had

⁶. *Otago Witness*, 3 October 1863, p.5; 24 October 1863, p.5; 6 February 1864, p.2; *The Press*, 27 October 1863, p.2; 10 November 1863, p.3.

⁷. *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1863, p.5; 16 January 1864, p.4.

dogged the Dunedin CC only two years earlier. It embraced an acute awareness that the successful staging of tour matches would be a valuable advertisement for the colony in general and for the South Island settlements in particular. As *The Press* put it on 17 December 1863, Canterbury was not especially concerned with Shadrach Jones and his financial speculation on the tour;

The honour of the settlement is the main point of importance to us. It is not a game of play we are engaged in. It is not a spectacle for the amusement of fair ladies, idle men and boys out for a holiday. A match of this kind means and involves a great deal more, without which it is an empty show costing a great deal of money.⁸

Six days later the same source pointed more explicitly to the impressions that the performances of New Zealand cricketers might convey to an English audience.

No option is left us now, we shall be posted in every newspaper in England either as a plucky set of fellows who, in the midst of the hard struggles of a settlers life, and the incessant grind of money-grubbing, have retained some of the manly tastes of our race, and some of the honourable pride which English lads delight to carry even into their amusements; or on the other hand we shall be charged with having fallen off as a community from the high standard of the old country, and with having exchanged pluck and activity for bounce and tall talk.⁹

Such apparently high stakes demanded the greatest attention to detail.

More than three months before Parr's team arrived in New Zealand, complaints began to surface in both Canterbury and Otago that the provincial cricketers were showing a lack of dedication to practice.¹⁰ On 20 November 1863 Jerningham Wakefield, a committee member of the original Christchurch CC, lamented that only two players were present in Hagley Park at 6am on a fine summer morning. He was reassured that

⁸. *The Press*, 17 December 1863, p.2.

⁹. *Ibid*, 23 December 1863, p.2.

¹⁰. *Ibid*, 11 November 1863, p.2.

a professional bowler, John Stevens, would soon be engaged to assist the team.¹¹ But on 17 December *The Press* declared that "the attempt to meet the All England Eleven on the cricket ground will be a disgraceful burlesque unless our players will determine to do their best, *and take the means to do it*". This was followed by strong criticism of existing fielding standards, and a call to select the team immediately and appoint a captain.¹²

The efforts being made in Canterbury prompted concerns in Dunedin that not enough was being done to prepare local players. The *Otago Witness* pleaded for cricketers to follow the Canterbury example. "Constant handling of bat and ball, vigorous exertion in active fielding, and utter abandonment of petty jealousies, are the requisites essential to achieve the much coveted success". In response, 3000 spectators attended a trial match between the Dunedin CC and Jones' XI on Boxing Day 1863.¹³

While the *Witness* alluded to "coveted success", others took a much more pragmatic view. Realising that Canterbury had no hope of defeating the visitors, *The Press* suggested that far more value would be derived from their performance if judged in relative colonial terms.

Of course the eleven will easily beat any twenty-two we can bring against them, but we shall not be playing against the eleven but against all the Australian colonies. The thing we should aim at is that the twenty-two of Canterbury should leave on record a score which shall show favourably against, if it cannot overtop, the score of any other twenty-two in the colonies.¹⁴

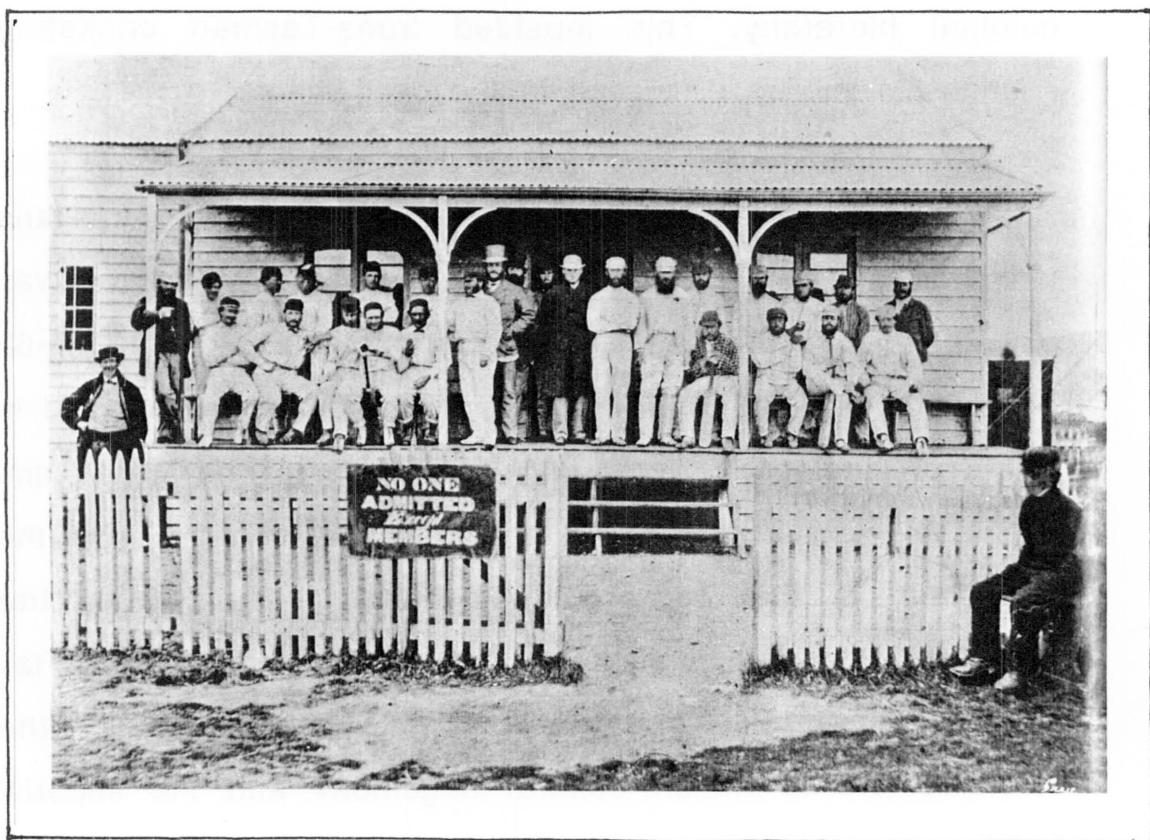
Certainly there is ample evidence of English tours engendering

11. Ibid, 20 November 1863, p.3; 21 November 1863, p.2.

12. Ibid, 17 December 1863, p.2.

13. *Otago Witness*, 12 December 1863, p.5; 1 January 1864, p.3.

14. *The Press*, 17 December 1863, p.2.



The Canterbury and Otago teams pose in front of the pavilion built to mark the visit of Parr's All England XI to Dunedin in January 1864. The match between these two teams on 27 February is recognised as the first first-class match in New Zealand. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.8915)

strong rivalries between New South Wales and Victoria.¹⁵ But a perusal of Australian sources reveals no similar concern with cricket as an indicator of New Zealand's place within the colonial hierarchy. This lopsided trans-Tasman cricketing relationship will be discussed in the next chapter.

The desire to perform only as well as the Australians indicates an acceptance of defeat before any cricket was played. As with the first English tours of Australia in 1861-62 and 1863-64, those to New Zealand are best conceptualised in terms of tutelage. The term refers both to the deferential sense among colonists that they stood only to learn from the superiority of the Mother Country and to improve by her example, and to an appreciation that the real value of tours lay not in notions of possible colonial victory but in the reinforcement of British cultural hegemony and the imperial bond.

When H.H. Stephenson's English team reached Melbourne in December 1861, one observer called it "a most audacious thing of the colonists to challenge the finest players in the world and to imagine that they could teach their respected grandmother".¹⁶ Later in the tour the *Sydney Morning Herald* put matters into a more accurate perspective;

In inviting you to visit us we had no idea of testing our skill against yours - that would be simply absurd; but we were desirous of having you here to witness British skill in the noble game of cricket. It is a comfort to know that we are beaten by our own countrymen. They can not find foreigners to beat our cricketers, our masters come from the old country.¹⁷

¹⁵. Montefiore, op. cit., passim.

¹⁶. Inglis, op. cit., p.167.

¹⁷. Quoted in Mandle, *Going it Alone*, p.27.

Although Victorian XXIs won two games against the tourists, their achievements were not attributed to Australian skills or superior numbers. Rather, "One long clatter of knives and forks followed by the usual popping of corks" had taken its toll.¹⁸

Expectations in New Zealand were little different. On New Years Day 1864 *The Press* published a lengthy mock report of a match between England and Canterbury. Among other things, Canterbury were dismissed in 25 balls for one run - a leg bye "awarded" from a ball which rebounded after breaking a batsman's leg. Batsmen were applauded for hitting the ball - even if caught, and two who survived four balls each were greeted with "uproarious cheering". Three batsman were too scared to bat, four others left the ground completely and one went to the wicket wearing every pad possessed by the Canterbury Cricket Club. In response, England scored 300 for no wicket by lunch - including 114 runs from lost balls hit out of the ground. However, the match ended in a draw due to bad weather, and Canterbury thus became the first team in Australasia to draw with the tourists!¹⁹ To a slight degree this account was prophetic, in that the Canterbury XXII (all of whom batted) scored only thirty and 105, to lose by an innings and two runs.

Dunedinites approached their apparently inevitable defeat in slightly more measured tones. Referring to some of the particular "stars" of the All England XI, the *Otago Daily Times* predicted a difficult time for the local team.

You yourselves cannot expect, and of course nobody else nourishes the idea, that you have any chance of making much of a scene at the wicket

¹⁸. Ibid.

¹⁹. *The Press*, 1 January 1864, p.2.

against the terrific bowling of Tarrant and the teasing 'slows' of Tinley; nor can you hope that your won balls will be very hard to be kept off the stumps by a Hayward or a Carpenter.²⁰

The address of welcome presented to George Parr on behalf of the "Cricketers in Otago" was equally timid.

As humble imitators at these distant antipodes of your famous deeds in England, we gladly hail the opportunity of witnessing the excellence to which your prowess has brought the manliest of English pastimes To look for anything like success in the forthcoming struggle, when pitted against the Champions of the world, would be presumptuous on our part, but you will be glad to learn that no exertion has been wanting to select the best twenty-two our province can boast of to take the field against you.

But E.T. Gillon of the Tokomairiro CC stressed that the visit would do much to stimulate interest in, and improve the standard of, Otago cricket.²¹

Behind the notion of tutelage was an unequivocal idealisation of all things British and imperial. While a small group of cricketers and cricketing enthusiasts were destined to learn something practical from their encounters on the field, the tour was held to represent a much wider bond of Empire and English characteristics. R.J.S. Harman, a prominent Canterbury settler and sporting administrator, informed one of Christchurch's numerous public meetings on arrangements for the tour that it would be most important for local youth, "as he most thoroughly believed that cricket and other athletic games did much to keep up English "pluck", and our character for hardiness and endurance".²² Two days later *The Press* was moved to reprint a lengthy editorial from the *Otago Daily Times* in which it was suggested that cricket could do more to

²⁰. Quoted *Ibid*, 5 February 1864, p.3.

²¹. *Otago Witness*, 6 February 1864, p.7.

²². *The Press*, 10 November 1863, p.3.

highlight New Zealand's place within Empire, and to attract further British immigrants, than any of the recent gold discoveries in Otago.

Paltry as some may deem a mere game of bat and ball, and waste of time as others may declare it, it is none the less an absolute certainty that the press of London and the different counties has more encouraging articles on this proof of colonial enterprise, than on the fact of our gold discoveries, for it shows us to be British still in both commercial daring and love of national pastime. Printed narratives of finds of monster nuggets are but casually glanced at by many thousands whose desires ... are irresistibly attracted to this hemisphere by the leading articles and paragraphs which tell them of English cricketers handling the leather and willow on Australian turf.²³

In its own account, *The Press* also implied that it was cricket, above all else, that would draw people along the ever improving transport networks between Britain and her colonies.

The mere mention of the scheme affords an undeniable proof of the advancement of the colony, and also of the gradual lessening of the distance which separates us from the Mother Country. Such symptoms of the growth of the colony are not to be mistaken, and auger well for the approaching establishment of the Panama route and the great increase to the prosperity of the settlement which will infallibly result there from.²⁴

Yet there is a sense in which New Zealand waters posed a greater difficulty for imperial cricket than Panama or any other route. While the All England XI only played in Dunedin and Christchurch, it is nevertheless surprising that their activities attracted only minimal attention from the press in Auckland, Wellington and Nelson. Not a single editor saw fit to comment on the wider significance of the tour, or even to reprint editorial extracts from South Island sources. Most provided only match reports. One must therefore question the pervasiveness of the imperial sporting ideology. Was it really

²³. Quoted in *The Press*, 12 November 1863, p.3.

²⁴. *The Press*, 27 October 1863, p.2.

seen to be of significance to the whole colony, or only to those parts which were lucky enough to benefit directly from it.

Given the build-up to the tour, it is no surprise that the arrival of the All England XI in both Dunedin and Christchurch prompted considerable pageantry and conspicuous colonial display. In both cities, merchants, banks and government departments decided to emulate the Australian response by giving their workers at least a half-holiday on the days of the match. John Hardy, MPC for Tokomairiro, went so far as providing his farm employees with horses so that they might travel to Dunedin for the game.²⁵

To mark the arrival of the English team, the buildings of Port Chalmers, Otago, were decorated with flags, foliage and banners, as were many ships in the harbour. A tent was also erected with capacity for 200 at a planned luncheon for the visitors. Unfortunately, the delayed arrival of the steamer from Melbourne until after midnight on a Saturday, and the prohibition against public welcomes on the Sabbath, meant that by the time Parr and his team were formally received on Monday, strong winds and dust had destroyed the luncheon tent and considerably reduced the gaiety of Port Chalmers. During the same weekend a large fire destroyed much of the commercial centre of Dunedin and the winds removed the roof of the newly erected grandstand.²⁶

In light of these events, the reception for the team was all the more remarkable. After the firing of salutes, they were

²⁵. *Otago Witness*, 30 January 1864, pp.4-5.

²⁶. *Ibid*, 6 February 1864, p.7.

escorted from Port Chalmers to Dunedin in a seven carriage entourage which included numerous public officials and the provincial brass band. In Dunedin the team were greeted by another large procession and attended a further reception at which George Parr was presented with an engraved address of welcome.²⁷

At Port Chalmers and Dunedin Parr responded to his hosts with familiar imperial enthusiasm.

We have come a long way to meet you, not in untoward strife, I trust, but in true friendship. We are all brothers. We are all of the same old stock; and I believe that we are all brothers in loyalty, in language, in religion, and in our love of the fine old English game Time and cricket bring distant parts of the world together; and now our colonies seem to be like only so many counties one to the other ...²⁸

Other members of the team felt that the Dunedin reception was better than any received on previous tours to Australia, Canada and the United States. Indeed, William Caffyn had a clear memory of events 35 years later. "We had a tremendous reception when we arrived. The people seemed to have fairly gone mad with excitement".²⁹

As with Dunedin, the reception for the team in Christchurch did not go at all according to plan. A delay in the arrival of the steamer from Port Chalmers meant that many of the large crowd assembled in Christchurch soon dispersed. Those who remained occupied their time by drinking most of the banquet champagne amid mock toasts and related festivities. But the eventual arrival of the English team was marked by a large procession and reception at the Christchurch

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 February 1864, p.2; W. Caffyn, *Seventy One Not Out*, London, 1899, p.207.

Town Hall.³⁰

Pessimistic predictions were ultimately justified. Otago were defeated by nine wickets, and by an innings in the return fixture, and Canterbury were also defeated by an innings. Only in the final match, a draw against a combined Canterbury and Otago XXII, were the tourists placed under any real pressure - conceding a first innings lead of 18 after being dismissed for 73. But much of the credit for this performance belonged to Thomas Wentworth Wills. The leading cricketer of Victoria, Wills travelled with the English team to New Zealand ostensibly to strengthen their opposition and thus prolong the matches. He secured six wickets for Canterbury, and another four as captain of the combined team, as well as contributing two of only fifteen double figure scores from the 176 individual innings played against the touring team.³¹

In the end, the results of the tour do not matter. More important is the almost fanatical intensity of the reception which surrounded the All England XI. Here was proof for all to see that those who colonised New Zealand had successfully transplanted not only the formal, structural and political, institutions of Britain, but also the informal institutions and social mores which underpinned them.

It was a decade before another English team visited Australasia in 1873-74. But negotiations failed to bring W.G. Grace's XI to New Zealand. It was therefore January 1877 before a second touring team, James Lillywhite's All England

³⁰. *The Press*, 8 February 1864, p.2.

³¹. Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914*, pp.183-7. The 176 innings included no less than 56 ducks.

XI, visited New Zealand. Importantly, they were the first to tour the whole colony - playing Auckland, Wellington, Taranaki, Nelson, Westland Canterbury, Otago and Southland. Five of these encounters were won by an innings, Canterbury lost by only 24 runs, and the Otago and Westland fixtures were drawn very much in favour of the visitors. Five years later, Alfred Shaw brought another English team to New Zealand after touring Australia. In addition to the four main centres, they played North Otago, South Canterbury and Waikato - winning five and drawing with Canterbury and Wellington when lack of time prevented almost inevitable innings victories.³²

The various responses to Lillywhite's and Shaw's teams are instructive. On the one hand they placed the status of New Zealand cricket in sharp relief against that in Australia. For immediately after their victorious procession through New Zealand, Lillywhite's team crossed the Tasman to play, and lose, the first ever Test match. In doing so, they encountered an Australian cricket culture which had undergone a distinct shift from deference to confidence and colonial assertiveness. Within five years the Australians would fully confirm their transformation with victory against England on English soil.

Within New Zealand there were markedly different responses to the tours among the provinces. Those provinces which were experiencing their first touring team exhibited the same traits of inferiority and deference as Canterbury, Otago and the Australian colonies had when they first encountered English touring teams during the early 1860s. However, Canterbury, and to a lesser extent Otago, which were

³². Ibid, pp.183-7,218-22.

experiencing their second tour, began to display an air of self belief and colonial assertiveness akin to that which was developing in Australia during the mid 1870s. Canterbury, with the benefit of a much stronger cricketing infrastructure than any other province, entertained some hopes of victory over Australian and English teams and came to embody the hopes of the colony as a whole. But Canterbury too was soon to fall well behind the rate of progress being made in Australian cricket, and the rest of New Zealand was to fall well behind the Canterbury standard.

As with Canterbury and Otago in 1864, Auckland and Wellington in 1877 were in no doubt about their responsibilities in hosting an All England Eleven. Despite unseasonably wet weather, Auckland preparations were well in hand at least a month before the tourists arrived. To assist efficient and regular practice, their team stayed together at the Ellerslie ground for several days prior to the match. In Wellington, special efforts were made to recruit the best players from outlying districts.³³

Yet high public expectations also prompted strong criticism of the apparent disorganisation and apathy among players and the respective match committees. The Auckland team were reminded in no uncertain terms that they had an obligation to those who had provided the financial guarantee for the tour, and that they were expected to perform in a manner that compared favourably with southern centres.³⁴ In

³³. *New Zealand Herald*, 29 December 1876, p.3; 16 January 1877, p.3; *Evening Post*, 13 February 1877, p.2.

³⁴. *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January 1877, p.2.

Wellington, the Basin Reserve trustees were lambasted for providing a substandard ground which would not reflect credit on the city.³⁵ In both cities the arrival of the All England team was marked by the obligatory large procession and brass band and by the firing of salutes. Prominent citizens and the Governor were conspicuous by their presence at the matches.³⁶

Beyond these self-conscious displays, expectations were not high. The *New Zealand Herald* declared that as the Auckland match would be an important learning experience for local cricketers, there was no disgrace in losing. In Wellington, the *New Zealand Times* hoped only that the local XXII would bat as well as Auckland.³⁷ In this they failed miserably - scoring 31 and 38 compared with Auckland's 109 and 94. Referring to the Wellington performance as "the slaughter of the innocents", the *Times* noted that there was much to learn from the Englishmen in a game that ought to be a "study" rather than a "farce".³⁸ The *Evening Post* added that the defeat would be the means of "rousing our local players to more practise and energy".³⁹

At a luncheon for Lillywhite's team in Auckland, William Lee Rees, MHR and a cousin of the Grace family, embarked on a familiar imperial rhetoric.

He hoped that the visit of the cricketers to the Australasian colonies would help to strengthen the ties which bound England to her children in these far distant regions, where manly athletic games were practised with as much assiduity as on her own shores. The common love for these sports was one of the strongest links in the chain which connected the Mother

35. *Evening Post*, 24 February 1877, p.2.

36. Ibid, 3 February 1877, p.2; 5 February 1877, p.2; *New Zealand Herald*, 29 January 1877, p.2; 31 January 1877, p.2.

37. *New Zealand Herald*, 1 February 1877, p.3; *New Zealand Times*, 3 February 1877, p.3.

38. *New Zealand Times*, 10 February 1877, p.3.

39. *Evening Post*, 10 February 1877, p.2.

Country with her offspring, a chain which, though light as silk, was strong as steel.⁴⁰

Rees' juxtaposition of silk and steel is a valuable reminder that the sporting Empire was implicit rather than explicit - a product of culture and ideology rather than of coercion and legislation.

Wellingtonians revealed their clear understanding of the imperial connection when Alfred Shaw's England XI arrived in January 1882. Having prefaced its remarks with a comparison between English athleticism and French lethargy, the *New Zealand Times* expounded on the implications of cricket for the continuity of the Empire.

A vast deal of good has been done by these cricketing visits to and from the Australian [sic] colonies. They have been the best advertisement of our prosperity and energy these colonies could have had; they have shown, physically at least, there has been no deterioration in the British subjects of Her Majesty at this part of the world; and the friendly reception of the cricketers sent from either 'end of the earth' to the other has greatly strengthened the sentimental tie uniting England to her colonies and the colonies to England.⁴¹

The *Evening Post* reinforced this with a more assertive reminder of the power of cricket in actively promoting colonial interests to Britain.

The fact that a dozen of the most renowned English players of England's great national game find it worthwhile to travel all the way to New Zealand and play matches in half-a-dozen different parts of the colony, tends to direct hither the attention of many classes who would otherwise no nothing of New Zealand but its name.⁴²

The structural development of Auckland and Wellington cricket certainly lagged well behind that of the South Island during the 1860s and '70s. But there is nothing to suggest that their ideological appreciation of the game lost anything by comparison.

40. *New Zealand Herald*, 1 February 1877, p.2.

41. *New Zealand Times*, 25 January 1882, p.2.

42. *Evening Post*, 27 January 1882, p.2.

In many respects Otago approached the visit of Lillywhite's team in similar fashion to the North Island centres. While gold, prosperity and an influx of talented Australians had considerably boosted its cricketing stocks during the mid 1860s, prompting its sponsorship of Parr's team and enabling five victories in seven years against Canterbury, Otago's decline was swift and dramatic. It secured only one victory against Canterbury during the 1870s.

Otago's only real concession to its heritage was to field XVIII as opposed to XXII against the English teams of 1877 and 1882. Otherwise, it approached its task with a resigned air of inevitability. When, in December 1876, it was proposed to abandon the annual inter-provincial fixture with Canterbury in order to concentrate on preparations for the tour match, H.F. Fish, later an MHR, argued that there was more to be gained from a competitive standard of cricket and longstanding obligations with Canterbury, than a "hollow" match against Lillywhite's team.⁴³ When the tourists arrived in Dunedin, the Mayor made the customary announcement that although Otago would learn much, they stood no chance of victory.⁴⁴ Indeed, many in Otago looked to Canterbury to redeem the performances of other provinces against Lillywhite's team. The *Otago Daily Times* declared that it would not be surprised if Canterbury achieved a victory.⁴⁵

Such optimistic predictions are testimony to Canterbury's primacy within New Zealand cricket. The progress

⁴³. *Otago Daily Times*, 8 December 1876, p.3.

⁴⁴. *Ibid*, 3 March 1877, p.3.

⁴⁵. *Ibid*, 26 February 1877, p.3.

made by the province during the 1870s was in every way comparable with the transition occurring in Australia. After suffering a heavy defeat in 1864, a Canterbury XVIII lost to All England by only 24 runs in 1877, and a Canterbury XV defeated Australia by six wickets in 1878. Spurred by these successes, Canterbury embarked on a tour of Victoria and Tasmania during the 1878-79 season.

By the beginning of December 1876, three months before the arrival of Lillywhite's XI, Canterbury had selected a squad of thirty players with a view to initiating compulsory practices.⁴⁶ Although wet weather severely restricted these plans, and internal bickering resulted in the resignation of some members of the match committee,⁴⁷ most observers were confident of a good Canterbury performance. On 23 February 1877 *The Star* outlined the significance of Canterbury's task.

Peculiar interest is attended to this match, for upon Canterbury the eyes of all cricketers in the colony are at the present moment turned. By common consent, our province is acknowledged to be unapproachable in the game at present, and it is the only one which has the remotest chance of coming off victorious. To it does every man in North and South look to uphold the honour of New Zealand, which has been so roughly treated up to the present time, and though it is hardly possible that we shall prove the victors, yet the Englishmen themselves acknowledge that they have the hardest nut of all to crack when they reach Christchurch. So let our chosen ones keep a stout heart and a bold front; and let them go in with the determination to do their utmost, and then, if they are defeated, we may be sure the defeat will be an honourable one, and not a mere procession of crestfallen men, marching from the pavilion to the wickets, back again, and nothing more.⁴⁸

While there was no victory to celebrate, the manner of Canterbury's narrow loss left much to praise. Whereas in 1864

⁴⁶ *The Press*, 7 December 1877, p.2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 19 February 1877, p.3.

⁴⁸ *The Star*, 23 February 1877, p.2. See also *The Star*, 22 February 1877, p.2; *Lyttelton Times*, 6 March 1877, p.6.

the province had been too young and undeveloped for the match to be of any consequence, and most emphasis had been placed on the mere presence of an English team, *The Press* now suggested that better facilities and more numerous players gave Canterbury a standard quite comparable with that at "Home". Moreover, "It is proof, if any were needed, how this eminently national sport suits the genius of Englishmen in whatever part of the world they may locate themselves".⁴⁹

The new confidence of Canterbury cricket proved well founded when the first Australian XI toured New Zealand during the following season. Canterbury originally proposed to meet the Australians on even terms. The visitors, conscious of prolonging the match in the interests of gate receipts, insisted on the usual XXII. A compromise was reached in which Canterbury fielded a XV which then proceeded to dismiss Australia for 46 and 143. They replied with 135 and 57 for 8 to achieve victory by six wickets.⁵⁰

Reactions to this performance were more indifferent than ecstatic - as if victory by a New Zealand team was somehow beyond comprehension. *The Press* suggested that the Australians had taken Canterbury "too cheap" as a response to their presumption in playing only fifteen men.⁵¹ The *Evening Post* described the result as "simply one of those phases of cricketing fortune by which the best teams are liable to be overcome". Moreover, if the Wellington XXII was defeated by Australia after its defeat by Canterbury, such would reflect

49. *The Press*, 1 March 1877, p.2.

50. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.29; *The Press*, 19 January 1878, p.3.

51. *The Press*, 19 January 1878, p.2.

"grave discredit" on Wellington cricket.⁵²

Australian observers were ultimately no more encouraging. In its first report of the match, the *Australasian* suggested that the Canterbury victory "shows us that cricket in that part of New Zealand at all events is not nearly so backward as we in Victoria are generally disposed to believe".⁵³ But a week later the same source attributed the result to bad pitch conditions, cold weather and the tiredness of the Australians after a long journey to Christchurch. The *Sydney Mail* referred to "bad wickets, bad weather and bad umpiring".⁵⁴

Despite these muted responses, Canterbury lost no time in seeking to capitalise on its performance. In December 1878 a reasonably strong provincial team left for Australia to play against club sides in Hobart and Melbourne. Although most observers felt that the results of the tour would be somewhat secondary to the main purpose of establishing links with Victoria, *The Press* did raise some hope that a strong provincial team might pose a challenge to the Victorian XI.⁵⁵

In Australia the team were commended for their enterprise in undertaking a venture which would hopefully be "the prelude to many similar friendly encounters between the cricketers of Victoria and New Zealand".⁵⁶ "A Bohemian", the cricket correspondent for the *Australasian*, felt that although one or two weak players reduced the reputation of the team as

⁵². *Evening Post*, 25 January 1878, p.2.

⁵³. *Australasian*, 26 January 1878, p.108.

⁵⁴. *Ibid*, 2 February 1878, pp.139-40; *Sydney Mail*, 16 February 1878, p.212.

⁵⁵. *The Press*, 14 September 1878, p.2; 8 February 1879, p.3.

⁵⁶. *The Australasian*, 11 January 1879, p.43.

a whole, they generally had very little to learn from Australia in the art of playing cricket.⁵⁷ At the end of the tour, *The Press* concluded that "future cricketers of New Zealand will have every reason to be proud of the doings of the first team which left the shores of the colony to throw down the gauntlet to its more advanced neighbours".⁵⁸

But circumstances conspired against the Canterbury team. The competing attractions of the Australian XI, who were still playing matches after their return from England, and of Lord Harris's England XI, ensured that Canterbury remained very much on the periphery. They did not secure a match against Victoria, and the tour did very little to raise the profile of New Zealand cricket or the colony in general. Indeed, the lack of public interest contributed to severe financial difficulties. Funds had to be remitted from Christchurch to enable the team to return home, and, in a somewhat evasive reference to the outcome of the tour, the CCA passed a motion stating "That this Association does not hold itself responsible for any criticism on matches or matters connected with cricket which appear in the local press, unless authorised by the Association".⁵⁹ Promises by Victoria and by various of its club sides to visit New Zealand during the 1879-80 season were not kept.

Canterbury's progress during the late 1870s was a microcosm of the process by which Australia had advanced from XXII's to Test status. Yet the response to W.L. Murdoch's

⁵⁷. Ibid, 25 January 1879, p.108.

⁵⁸. *The Press*, 8 February 1879, p.3.

⁵⁹. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.30; CCA, AGM Minutes, 22 May 1879.

1881 Australian team highlights some significant parameters to the Canterbury and New Zealand outlook. For it is important to remember that the 1878 Australian team had come to New Zealand before their pioneering tour of England. In 1881 Murdoch's team arrived fresh from an English tour in which they had done much to build on the reputation of their predecessors. The difference between the two tours was not lost on the *Otago Daily Times*.

As we expected, the present match excites more interest than that of 1878 when the public attended in but scant numbers. Yesterday, however, the attendance was capital ... Many of them we believe were attracted by curiosity quite as much as by cricket - they wanted to see the eleven colonials who have not only proved themselves "the cricket monarchs of Pacific's main" ... but very nearly of Atlantic's also.⁶⁰

In short, an Australian team which had achieved successes on English soil was to be accorded a great deal more kudos than that of 1878 which had been something of an unknown quantity to the New Zealand public. While that team had beaten Lillywhite's XI in the first Test match, it had done so under Australian conditions and not at "Home".

This attitude to the Australians is evident in Canterbury's preparations for the 1881 match. Some certainly felt that the victory of 1878 could be repeated by a team that had had more practice and contained equally talented players.⁶¹ But others argued that Canterbury should acknowledge the proven strength of its opposition and increase the size of its team from XV to XVIII or XXII.⁶² What finally persuaded Canterbury to persevere with a XV was less a statement of faith in its ability, as a sense that it had a moral

⁶⁰. *Otago Daily Times*, 21 January 1881, p.3.

⁶¹. *The Press*, 24 January 1881, p.3; 26 January 1881, p.3.

⁶². *Ibid*, 24 January 1881, p.5; *Lyttelton Times*, 29 January 1881, p.4.

duty to contest the match on the same terms as previously. As *The Star* put it;

Having beaten the first Australians with fifteen, it would have shown a lamentable want of confidence - a most undeniable case of "peake" - for the cricketers of Canterbury to have sent in eighteen. It remains for the Australians to prove that they can beat a fifteen of Canterbury before our boys surrender the position which they have achieved against them.⁶³

Canterbury duly surrendered their position by an innings and 100 runs as the Australians scored 323, including a century from Murdoch. *The Star*, which had been one of the more confident pre-match advocates of Canterbury's prospects, now suggested that their heavy defeat may have been a good thing.

There are those indeed who hold that a victory for Canterbury would have been a most unfortunate thing for cricket amongst us, and they do not hesitate to affirm the "our boys" needed the sweet lessons of a rough adversity to teach them to be more constant in practice and more attentive to the niceties of the game.⁶⁴

From the highs of 1878, some Cantabrians had reverted to a deferential mindset akin to that of the 1860s.

When the next Australian XI arrived in December 1886, there were generally gloomy predictions and no debate over the Canterbury decision to field XVIII. When the team managed a more than favourable draw, the *Lyttelton Times* remarked that "If our cricketers have not quite conquered an Australian Eleven, they have quite conquered or reconquered their place in the public estimation here".⁶⁵ Two more creditable draws against C.A. Smith's England XI during the following season ensured that Canterbury finished the decade in confident mood. Indeed, there were proposals for another tour of Victoria and Tasmania - this time involving Otago as well as Canterbury

⁶³. *The Star*, 28 January 1881, p.2.

⁶⁴. *Ibid*, 2 February 1881, p.2.

⁶⁵. *Lyttelton Times*, 2 December 1886, p.4.

players. The plan only foundered when leading Canterbury players declared themselves unavailable for business reasons.⁶⁶ A further proposal from the CCA to send a New Zealand team to New South Wales and Tasmania in 1893 also came to nothing.⁶⁷

In other New Zealand centres the stakes were not nearly as high as they were for Canterbury. But Australian tours were still occasions for a good deal of pageantry and display. Moreover, the vitriolic criticism frequently levelled at the best efforts of local players and officials, and more particularly at those members of the public who took little or no interest in cricket, reveals that the tours were regarded as neither peripheral nor merely sporting.

After Wellington's innings defeat in 1881, the *Evening Post* declared that "the only 'good all round' part of their batting as far as we could see was the imposing array of 'round noughts' made". The WCA was also condemned for the state of the Basin Reserve and for "the spirit of exclusiveness and clubism" which hampered preparations for the match.⁶⁸ When Australia inflicted another heavy defeat on a Wellington XXII in 1886, it was announced that the public would soon tire of watching the humiliation of such an inept team. "With a view to avoiding any future repetition of so melancholy a fiasco", the press called for the engagement of a professional coach to initiate the sort of improvements that had been made

⁶⁶. *New Zealand Referee*, 24 August 1888, p.164; 14 September 1888, p.199; 2 November 1888, p.282.

⁶⁷. OCA, AGM Minutes, 28 September 1893.

⁶⁸. *Evening Post*, 9 February 1881, p.2; *New Zealand Times*, 9 February 1881, p.3.

in Australian cricket during the 1860s.⁶⁹

Dunedinites exhibited similar foreboding over their cricketers. When Tasmania arrived in February 1884, it was observed that while the standard of New Zealand cricket was not entirely beyond redemption, Otago would stand little chance of victory against the visitors, or any other touring team for that matter. "Even at its best the climate of this colony is more favourable to the production of good wheat than good cricket, and we can never hope to send Home a team which will lower the colours of the MCC or meet with respectful consideration from All England".⁷⁰ Prior to Otago's match against the 1886 Australians, the press condemned the OCA for their decision to field a XXII. "The match committee have chosen to play such a number against the Australian cricketers that the contest is robbed of all interest. If our men win, it is no honour; if they lose, it is a disgrace".⁷¹ This approach was apparently symptomatic of a more general deterioration in the standard of Otago cricket. "Our cricketers seem like the Bourbons - 'they learn nothing and forget nothing', and to crown all, some indulge their effeminacy by playing such maudlin games as lawn tennis".⁷²

In Southland, both the public and local businesses were criticised for failing to contribute funds to guarantee the visit of the 1881 Australian team. But their arrival was attended by a great deal of excitement. A half-holiday was proclaimed and reduced rail fares were offered so that spectators from

⁶⁹ *Evening Post*, 3 December 1886, p.2; *New Zealand Times*, 4 December 1886, p.2.

⁷⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 2 February 1884, p.4.

⁷¹ Quoted in *Otago Witness*, 3 December 1886, p.26.

⁷² *Ibid.*

outlying districts could easily travel to Invercargill for the match.⁷³ The significance of the tour to the fabric of the Empire was not lost on the *Southland Times*.

In the old country they had done wonders; though representing only a mere handful of men, they had competed successfully against the representatives of the millions of Great Britain. They had done honour to the flag of Australia, and had made it respected all over the world.⁷⁴

Unfortunately for Southland, they were visited by only five of the next eighteen teams to tour New Zealand upto 1914.

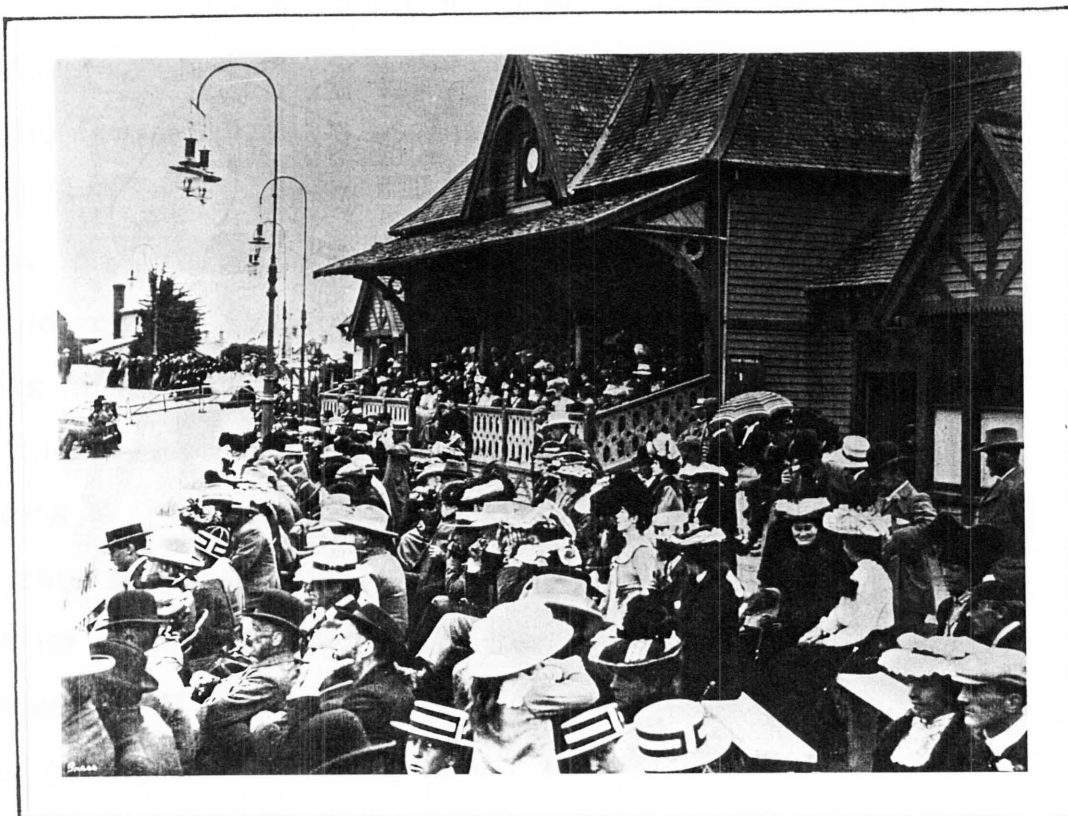
With the limited exception of Canterbury, the performances of New Zealand provinces against touring teams offered nothing to justify the sort of colonial assertiveness which characterised Australian cricketing relations with England from the late 1870s. Certainly there was nothing to match the Sydney *Bulletin's* rabid observations in November 1884; "The Australians will never consent to be spat upon by dirty little cads whose soap-boiling, nigger-murdering grandfathers left enough money to get the cads' fathers ennobled and to enable the cad himself to live without working".⁷⁵

To the contrary, some came to view cricket not as a means by which New Zealand might carve out its own distinct niche within the Empire, but as a bridge to federation with the Australian colonies. At a reception for the 1881 Australian team, their captain, W.L. Murdoch, stressed that in playing for the honour of the Australian colonies his team had always

⁷³. *Southland Times*, 7 January 1881, p.2; 10 January 1881, p.2; 15 January 1881, p.2.

⁷⁴. *Southland Times*, 19 January 1881, p.2.

⁷⁵. Quoted in Mandle, *Going it Alone*, pp.29-30.



Crowd at Lancaster Park 1903. This group were almost certainly watching the fixture between Canterbury and Lord Hawkes' XI. The apparel gives some idea of the sense of occasion which always surrounded the visits of touring teams - and especially English teams. (Weekly press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.3208)

included New Zealand. There was already a South Australian in the team, and therefore no reason why a New Zealander could not also accompany them to England "so that it might be a thoroughly representative team of Australasia".⁷⁶

Murdoch hinted at notions of colonial federation which were gaining certain political currency in New Zealand during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Ideas that New Zealand might federate with the Australian colonies were first aired during the early 1880s, mainly in the context of the consultative Federal Council established in 1886. But aside from a brief revival of interest during the Colonial Conferences of 1890 and 1891, and a belated flurry of activity in 1899 after the Australians had committed themselves to Federation, there was little public or political support for the concept in New Zealand. Moreover, no single New Zealand newspaper ever sustained a campaign for colonial federation, with the exception of Wellington's *Evening Post*.⁷⁷

To this end, it was the *Evening Post* which suggested that visits by New South Wales athletes and cricketers at the end of 1895 were transcending the contradictions of existing attempts to federate at a political level.

While politicians are in the same breath talking of drawing closer the bonds of unions between the colonies, and making hostile tariffs to drive them apart, there is a practical federation of the young generation in the field of athletics which will probably do much in moulding the future. Federal opinions, and it is for this reason, as well as for the sake of the branches of sport concerned, that we especially welcome at this Christmas season the New South Wales Cricketers and the New South Wales Amateur Athletes.⁷⁸

⁷⁶. *The Press*, 31 January 1881, p.3.

⁷⁷. K. Sinclair, "Why New Zealanders are not Australians: New Zealand and the Australian Federal Movement, 1881-1901", in Sinclair, ed, *Tasman Relations*, Auckland, 1987, pp.90-103.

⁷⁸. *Evening Post*, 27 December 1895, p.2.

Ten years later, the *New Zealand Herald* took the visit of the 1905 Australians as an opportunity to remind its readers of an ultimate loyalty among the colonies and with Britain:

The friendliness that is manifested, the common interests that are called forth, the very emulation that is excited between the branches of the same people keeps alive the feeling that we are one people and not strangers. This, more than many more seemingly important things, forms a real bond of union which may at least help to stand the strain which distance, and to some extent, perhaps, conflicting interests, may hereafter put upon the unity of the Empire.⁷⁹

In referring to "conflicting interests", the *Herald* was perhaps mindful of tensions between imperial and national aspirations in such areas as defence and the application of restrictive immigration policies.

Zealand and Australia. In an address to the departing Australian team he said,

Visits such as these do an enormous amount of good. In fact they are essential in order that the representatives of either country can come into closer contact and understand the viewpoints of each other better. You know that in the political world today there is an effort to have some point round which representatives from all parts of the world can meet and discuss international problems It would be difficult to draw comparisons, but, nevertheless, we can not underestimate the good visits of this kind bring with them.⁸⁰

Ironically, this was the last Australian tour of New Zealand for eighteen years.

There were some practical manifestations of this federal spirit. In 1896-97, after spectacular bowling success for Otago against Australia and Queensland, Arthur Fisher was invited to Melbourne for trials in the hope that he might play in the Test matches against A.E. Stoddart's England team.⁸¹ Notwithstanding his failure to impress in drier conditions, Fisher

⁷⁹. *New Zealand Herald*, 11 February 1905, p.6.

⁸⁰. *The Press*, 11 April 1928, p.12.

⁸¹. A.H. Fisher, "Clippings Book No.1", Hocken Archives, Dunedin.

later claimed that he was not given a trial on the terms originally promised. The inter-colonial jealousies so prevalent in Australian cricket prevented him from playing for Victoria or in any matches against the touring team - a snub which prompted a strong rebuke from the Dunedin press.

The matter is not a trivial one. Cricket has had no small share in bringing about the improved relationship between the colonies and the Mother Country, so that the interests of the game have come to possess an almost imperial importance. It is natural that New Zealand should desire this colony, if possible, to have a share in the international cricket tournament, and there were good grounds for thinking that Mr Fisher had shown himself worthy of, at all events, a thorough trial Not to put to fine a point on it, he has been badly treated.⁸²

A year later, when Fisher returned to Australia with the New Zealand team, he secured only one wicket for 179 runs. But Daniel Reese's sound batting for New Zealand against Victoria raised suggestions that he might play for "The Rest" in a trial match against the 1899 Australians. He failed to score in his next innings against New South Wales.⁸³ As late as 1910 it was still being suggested that the development of New Zealand cricket might lead to players being selected for Australia.⁸⁴

There is perhaps a misleading temptation to view these arrangements as a form of sub-imperialism whereby New Zealand was incorporated into the orbit of another colony. More likely, they were a simple matter of expediency. New Zealand did not hold Test status, and would not until 1930. If its individual players wished to play Test cricket, they were obliged to do so for either England, Australia or South Africa. The relaxed attitude to international qualification rules which

⁸². Ibid.

⁸³. *Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1899, NSWCA "Newspaper Cuttings Book", NSWCA Library, Sydney.

⁸⁴. *Australasian*, 30 April 1910, p.1088.

allowed K.S. Ranjitsinhi to represent England during the 1890s, and several other players to represent two countries, provided a sound precedent for the Australian approach to New Zealand players.

Just as various moral metaphors were circumscribed by issues of race, gender, class and the simple diffusion of the sources which articulated them, the rhetoric which surrounded touring teams is open to exactly the same scrutiny. Moreover, there is an obvious contradiction between the objectives of the touring teams and the ideals ascribed to them by their hosts. Put bluntly, the aims of the English teams and most of the Australian teams were financial rather than imperial. George Parr, James Lillywhite and Alfred Shaw were all professional cricketers for whom the viability of an Australasian tour had to be assessed in monetary terms before any other. Players on the first tours to Australia in 1861-2 and 1863-4 received £250 and £475 respectively - although the "money-grabbing" exploits of Parr's team acted to discourage Australian backing for a further tour until 1873. In 1876-77 Lillywhite was able to pay his players double their original guarantee, and two years later Lord Harris's party pocketed £500 each. On their first Australian venture as joint promoters in 1881-82, Lillywhite, Shaw and Arthur Shrewsbury recouped no less than £750 each followed by a substantially reduced, but still healthy, £150 in 1883-84.⁸⁵

So determined did English cricketers become in their

⁸⁵ W.F. Mandle, "The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century", *Labour History*, No.23, November 1972, p.9.; Pullin, *op. cit.*, p.116.

desire to capitalise on the Australian market, that there was a team in the colonies for some part of every year from 1881 to 1888. A combination of inter-colonial business rivalries and declining public interest after five tours in five years saw Lillywhite, Shaw and Shrewsbury lose £250 each on their third Australian venture in 1886-87 and as much as £1200 when they and G.F. Vernon's touring team attempted to compete for the same Australian fixtures and spectatorship in 1887-88.⁸⁶ "The least that can be said of the blunder", recalled Alfred Shaw, "is that it was such stupendous folly a similar mistake is never likely to occur again".⁸⁷ Indeed, this marked the end of fully professional cricket tours to Australasia.

There can be no doubt that whatever higher moral ground New Zealand elites chose to take over the presence of a touring team, the tourists themselves were working to a more self-serving agenda. Problems were evident during the visit of Lillywhite's team in 1877. A report of the arrival of the 1878 Australians provided a damning contrast. "They are very agreeable and gentlemanly in their manners - a point which was all the more noticeable in that the Englishmen were just the reverse".⁸⁸ The team encountered their greatest problems when wicket-keeper Edward Pooley was arrested after a brawl prompted by a betting scandal in Christchurch. Pooley had wagered with locals that he could predict the individual score of each member of the Canterbury XVIII. The odds were such that his prediction that each batsman would score zero was

⁸⁶. P. Wynne-Thomas, *Give me Arthur: A Biography of Arthur Shrewsbury*, London 1985, pp.63-68,77-91.

⁸⁷. Pullin, op. cit., p.101.

⁸⁸. Quoted in *Sydney Mail*, 26 January 1878, p.117.

guaranteed to return a healthy profit. But Pooley's attempts to claim his winnings produced complaints that the bet was unfair. The resulting confrontation saw Pooley and the team's baggage man charged with assault and damage to property. When, after six weeks, the case was thrown out through lack of evidence, the public of Christchurch took sympathy and presented Pooley with £50 and a gold watch. Yet his detention in New Zealand had greater consequences, in that he was not able to play in the first ever Test match. He never played Test cricket.⁸⁹

In 1881 Murdoch's Australian team also encountered criticism in Nelson.

Individual members of the team might improve on acquaintance, and it may be that one or two are not in reality so boorish as they appeared. It is, however, generally supposed that travel gives polish; but if it has done so with several of the Australian team, we can only deplore their original roughness. We were led to consider the players as gentlemen when they went home, but now - they have become professionals in the money-making sense, but in another we have met better professionals.⁹⁰

Perhaps the key to this impression of the team rests in the final remark concerning professionalism. In the quest for riches, the privately organised Australian teams of the 1880s were little different to their English counterparts.

New Zealand's inability to reconcile the pragmatic and idealistic objectives of touring teams undoubtedly contributed to its comparative cricketing isolation during the late nineteenth century. The refusal of Shaw, Shrewsbury and Lillywhite to bring English teams to New Zealand after 1882 stemmed entirely from their inability to negotiate terms with cricket authorities in New Zealand. But there were still enough

⁸⁹. G. Cotter, *England versus New Zealand: A History of the Test and Other Matches*, Marlborough, Wilts., 1990, p.19.

⁹⁰. *The Colonist*, 12 February 1881, p.3.

tours around which to fashion a coherent ideology - one which stressed the power of cricket to unite the Empire along common cultural lines in terms of both the relationship with the Mother Country and that between colonies.

From this point onwards, New Zealand cricket showed a marked divergence from the pattern which characterised Anglo-Australian cricketing relations. Instead of building on the degree of colonial assertiveness evident in Canterbury's performances during the 1880s, New Zealand cricket fell victim during the 1890s to a powerful inferiority complex and to internal politicking and posturing of a sort which ultimately precluded any role for cricket in the shaping of a distinct New Zealand identity.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
A NEAR BUT DISTANT NEIGHBOUR
CRICKETING RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA
1890-1914

Those who linked cricket with notions of colonial federation during the last quarter of the nineteenth century failed to allow for fundamental differences in both spheres. Of course it is easy to point to broad historical similarities. Yet between 1890 and 1940 relations between New Zealand and Australia, cricketing, social and political, were marked by an equally significant degree of divergence. As elements within Australian society sought to draw away from Britain and forge a more distinct local identity, New Zealand, relatively speaking, remained circumscribed within a much more conventional imperial role in which continued cultural and political links to Britain were paramount. At the same time, the gap between cricketing standards in Australia and New Zealand increased rather than decreased. As Australian cricket became an active current of emergent nationalism, New Zealand pursued a cricketing ideal which emphasised style rather than success. The deference which dominated all but Canterbury, remained as strong during the early twentieth century as it had during the 1870s.

New Zealand's failure to maintain cricketing parity with Australia is, in part, due to factors such as climate and

finance which were largely beyond the control of the New Zealand Cricket Council. But other obstacles were entirely of its own making. Rather than unity in a common purpose, the various Australian tours, and the selection of New Zealand teams to oppose them, provide a catalogue of provincial antagonism and vitriolic rivalry. On numerous occasions the best interests of New Zealand cricket and the NZCC were subsumed by the need to placate the provincial cricket associations. Under these circumstances, the prospect of New Zealand cricket developing as a component of national identity was remote.

The attitude of Australian cricket authorities was also crucial. As Anglo-Australian Test-tours assumed much greater imperial/national proportions during the 1890s, the entire *raison d'être* for Australian cricket came to revolve around much higher financial, personal and political stakes than had earlier been the case. Against this background, New Zealand objectives were increasingly peripheral. They had much to gain from Australia, but little to offer. While exercising due caution, it is not unreasonable to link these developments to broader shifts in the trans-Tasman relationship.

In many respects the 1890s was the most successful decade for New Zealand cricket. There were more touring teams than at any other time. The first New Zealand representative team was assembled in 1894 and the first New Zealand touring team visited Australia in 1899. Between 1894 and 1897 New Zealand provincial and national teams secured five of their ten first-class victories against touring teams

prior to 1914. Underpinning these achievements was the emergence of the New Zealand Cricket Council as a central administrative body. Yet improvements to the internal fabric of New Zealand cricket ultimately had little bearing on the wider public perception of the game. The reality for New Zealand was that the few victories were against weak or unrepresentative opposition. When they did encounter the full strength of Australian cricket, especially in 1905 and 1914, it was clear that notions of progress were illusory.

New Zealand responses to Australian cricket were quite out of proportion with what was actually at stake. There was hardly an Australian tour of New Zealand between 1890 and 1914 which did not produce some degree of acrimonious local melodrama. Yet most of the touring teams either lacked representative strength or lacked unequivocal sanction from Australian cricket authorities. As New Zealanders approached their objectives and responsibilities with all the intensity normally reserved for an Anglo-Australian Test match, the Australians increasingly viewed New Zealand cricket as peripheral. On more than one occasion it was accorded a priority below that of local grade cricket.

The Australian teams of 1878, 1881 and 1886 were fully representative sides either proceeding to or returning from England. But of the nine England bound teams between 1888 and 1914, only those of 1896 and 1905 visited New Zealand. A strong Australian 2nd XI toured in 1910, and Arthur Sims' private team of 1914 was near enough to full representative strength - but not designated as an official Australian team. The remaining visits to New Zealand were by colonial or club

sides - three by New South Wales, two by the Melbourne Cricket Club and one each by Queensland and the South Melbourne CC.

None of the three New South Wales teams during the 1890s can be regarded as in any way representative of that colony. The teams of 1890 and 1894, selected and managed by J.C. Davis, later cricket correspondent for the *Sydney Referee*, failed to gain the sanction of the New South Wales Cricket Association (NSWCA). Indeed, the Association refused to play against the 1890 tourists prior to their departure for New Zealand as they had not been selected by the NSWCA.¹ Although official sanction was given to a team in 1895-96, the Association handled proceedings with a certain indifference to New Zealand interests. Without consulting the New Zealand Cricket Council, they reduced the tour from six to four weeks - to avoid a clash with the final rounds of Sydney grade cricket. Moreover, the team was very much a 2nd XI. Seven of the twelve players had no other first-class cricket outside the New Zealand tour.² In both 1894 and 1895-96 the Australian press were more inclined to refer to the tourists as "Sydney" teams - implying that they were not fully representative of New South Wales as a whole.³

The controversy which surrounded the visit of the Australian team at the end of 1896 reinforces the feeling that New Zealand would only be accommodated if Australian domestic arrangements were not compromised. In August 1896

1. Webster, *op. cit.*, pp.143,179; NSWCA, Minutes, 13 January 1890.

2. *Daily Telegraph*, 24 October 1895, NSWCA cuttings book; Webster, *op. cit.*, p.209.

3. For example, *Sydney Mail*, 3 February 1894, p.247; 14 December 1895, p.1233.

both New South Wales and Victoria informed the Australian team, then in England, that the players had a duty to appear in Sheffield Shield matches rather than undertake a proposed tour to New Zealand.⁴ This position was reinforced by the Australasian Cricket Council which also criticised its New Zealand counterpart for negotiating directly with the management of the team rather than with authorities in Australia.⁵ But "L.G.", the cricket correspondent for the *Australasian*, declared that the Council had no real basis for objecting to the tour and were only concerned that early season inter-colonial matches would lose gate money if the leading players were still in New Zealand. The Council reneged when the team manager informed them that the players had unanimously decided to tour New Zealand.⁶

The other colonial team to visit New Zealand during this period, Queensland in 1897, was not yet in the top flight of Australian cricket. Although granted first-class status in 1893, Queensland was not admitted to the Australian Sheffield Shield competition until 1926-27.⁷ In short, there was very little contact between New Zealand and the highest echelon of Australian cricket, and very little to suggest that Australian administrators gave a particularly high priority to the New Zealand game.

Despite this lack of mutual enthusiasm, the New Zealand Cricket Council determinedly set about arranging tours and

4. *New Zealand Referee*, 20 August 1896, p.31; 27 August 1896, p.30.

5. *Ibid*, 27 August 1896, p.31; 3 September 1896, p.31.

6. *Ibid*, 10 September 1896, pp.30-1; 24 September 1896, p.31.

7. Webster, *op. cit.*, pp.178,663.

creating opportunities for its representative team. Plans for fully representative New Zealand teams dated back to 1875 when it was proposed to play a match between New Zealand and Australia at Auckland. The Wellington Cricket Association raised the idea again in connection with the 1886 Australian tour and with C.A. Smith's English team a year later. A further New Zealand team was proposed in connection with attempts to secure a visit from the Australian team after their tour of England in 1893.⁸ When these latter plans fell through, the Canterbury Cricket Association, in consultation with delegates from Auckland and Otago, agreed to take full responsibility for arranging a match between New Zealand and J.C. Davis's 1894 New South Wales team. The CCA would have sole responsibility for selecting the New Zealand team and would carry all financial risks involved with the venture.⁹

Far from prompting other provinces to rally around Canterbury, the initiative of the CCA drew immediate criticism. Three weeks before the New Zealand team was selected, Wellington's *Evening Post* complained that the South Island was "running the whole show" and suggested that the Canterbury selector, A.M. Ollivier, was likely to select a predominantly southern team. The WCA also criticised Ollivier for taking advice from persons other than the Wellington selection committee.¹⁰ In retort, the Christchurch-based *New Zealand Referee* defended the right of Ollivier to use his own methods as a selector, and remarked that "it would not be

⁸. *The Press*, 12 July 1875, p.2; 12 August 1893, p.6; *New Zealand Herald*, 30 September 1886, p.6; *New Zealand Referee*, 20 January 1888, p.103;

⁹. *New Zealand Referee*, 4 January 1894, p.27.

¹⁰. *Ibid*, 11 January 1894, p.26; 8 February 1894, p.25.

characteristic of Wellington, however, if they did not raise some objection".¹¹

When the New Zealand team was announced it contained five Canterbury players, with two each from Auckland, Wellington and Otago. The *Otago Witness* felt that this was a generally reasonable selection in view of the batting strength of Canterbury during the current season. But the OCA took an altogether different view - passing a motion criticising Ollivier's treatment of Otago players and his selection of the New Zealand team before the Otago fixture against New South Wales. "As it is Mr Ollivier has offered a direct insult to Otago cricketers by implying that there are only two of their number whose claims for selection in a team representative of the colony are worthy of consideration".¹² The situation was made worse when one of the Otago players, Alec Downes, was unable to gain leave for the match. The only Otago player who took the field was J.C. Lawton - the OCA's English professional coach. In place of Downes, a sixth Canterbury player, Edwin Palmer, was included in the New Zealand team Ollivier was further condemned for not attempting to secure the replacement player from Otago.¹³

Although it was never explicitly stated, reactions to the 1894 team, and to many later selections, point to the feeling in some quarters that a provincial quota had to be observed. In this, as in so much of the antagonism which surfaced among the provincial cricket associations, it seems that those who provided the financial guarantees which enabled tours to take

11. Ibid, 8 February 1894, p.25.

12. *Otago Witness*, 15 February 1894, p.32.

13. Ibid; Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.35.

place, felt entitled to an equal share of representation in New Zealand teams. Certainly the superiority of Canterbury, especially during the early 1890s, allowed it a greater share of players. But many of the comments from Auckland, Otago and Wellington indicate a feeling that national representation was a right rather than an honour. This being the case, the role of a New Zealand team as a focal point for cricket in the colony becomes somewhat problematic.

While some took the conventional attitude that the strongest possible team should be selected to carry the honour of the colony, others apparently felt that a team should not only represent New Zealand but be representative of New Zealand. This inclusive stance rested more on narrow minded provincialism than an altruistic desire to encapsulate the whole fabric of New Zealand cricket within a representative team. Encouraging the idea of a quota was a way of ensuring that a province had *some* players in a New Zealand team, rather than none. Almost without exception, the selection controversies were of a sort where Wellington critics demanded the inclusion of more Wellington players, or Otago critics did the same for their own favourites. It was not likely that a Wellingtonian would argue the claims of an Auckland or Canterbury player ignored by the selectors. No doubt each province would have provided more than its share of players if the opportunity arose.

In March 1910, when objections inevitably surfaced over the selection of the New Zealand team for the second "Test" against Australia, the *Lyttelton Times* stressed that New Zealand needed to select teams without an eye to provincial

quotas.

Half the value of cricket depends upon the spirit in which it is played, and petty jealousies and local prejudices are always to be deprecated. The impending match is a New Zealand match, and Canterbury will be delighted by the successes of the representatives of other provinces, even if her own men should fail.¹⁴

Indeed, the Canterbury press was generally far less inclined to immerse itself in selection controversies than many of its counterparts. Yet this was not because Canterbury dominated New Zealand teams to anything like the extent that some critics implied. Of the 77 players who represented New Zealand up to 1914, 25 were selected from Canterbury, twenty from Auckland, eighteen from Wellington, eleven from Otago and one each from Hawkes Bay, Poverty Bay, Southland, Taranaki and Wanganui.¹⁵ It can hardly be said that the Canterbury contribution was excessive. Nor was Wellington - always the strongest critic of New Zealand teams and the NZCC - substantially under-represented. The problem, however, was that cold facts could not, in themselves, cut through the layers of entrenched provincialism which choked the notion of a single identity for New Zealand cricket.

Even Canterbury contained elements who preferred to put provincial ahead of national interests. In November 1896 when the CCA decided to forgo a match against the visiting Australians in order to stage a New Zealand fixture in Christchurch, there were strong objections. In a letter to *The Press*, W.H.K Wanklyn, a Canterbury delegate to the New

¹⁴. *Lyttelton Times*, 24 March 1910, p.6.

¹⁵. Figures derived from Reese, *New Zealand Cricket 1914-33*, pp.590-3. Two players were selected for New Zealand teams from two different provinces - J.N. Fowke from Auckland and Canterbury, W. Robertson from Canterbury and Southland.

Zealand Cricket Council, condemned the decision as an injustice to the young cricketers of Canterbury, as it was important for New Zealand cricket that as many players as possible learn from opposing the Australian team. Wanklyn reminded other NZCC delegates of an earlier decision whereby a New Zealand fixture would only be arranged if it did not interfere with existing provincial arrangements.¹⁶ In another letter, "Cricketer" attacked the NZCC for the procedure it had used to reverse the earlier decision (apparently only five of sixteen delegates were present), and suggested that the New Zealand fixture was nothing more than an attempt by the Lancaster Park Ground Company to increase its profits. The same correspondent later suggested that the Lancaster Park Company, the NZCC and the Christchurch Tram Company should reimburse the CCA for lost revenue - a point echoed by T.D. Harman, a long serving Canterbury administrator.¹⁷

Certainly one can not deny the concerns of those who sought to protect the financial interests of the CCA, or any provincial cricket association for that matter. All of these bodies operated fairly close to the poverty line and could be excused for seeking to increase their revenue at every opportunity. Yet the proposed fixture would mark the first meeting between fully representative Australian and New Zealand teams - albeit on uneven terms, as New Zealand were to field a XV. The willingness of Wanklyn and others to sacrifice this opportunity to satisfy much narrower Canterbury objectives, suggests that there was a certain

¹⁶. *The Press*, 13 November 1896, p.3.

¹⁷. *Ibid*, 14 November 1896, p.5; 17 November 1896, p.6; 19 November 1896, p.6.

amount of local indifference to the principles which the visiting Australian team and its predecessors had come to symbolise - the role of cricket in forging a sense of colonial unity and identity.

Under the sobriquet "One of the Public", another Christchurch correspondent outlined more pragmatic objections to a Canterbury rather than New Zealand fixture.

Do the advocates of the Canterbury match think that a game (I cannot call it a match) between a team of eighteen, or, for that matter, eighty players of the calibre of those who so lately (mis)represented Canterbury v. Otago would attract any 'gate' at all? That a game against the visitors would be of great interest to the eighteen chosen players is probable enough, and if they relied on themselves to pay for it, I would be silent.¹⁸

At the end of November 1896 a New Zealand XV put up a very creditable performance in losing to the Australians by only five wickets. Later in the same season, the WCA had no hesitation in forfeiting their provincial match against Queensland in favour of one involving New Zealand.¹⁹

But the liberality of the WCA in 1896 was not matched by the same body in 1910. On the later occasion, Wellington's refusal to compromise with the NZCC almost brought about the cancellation of a tour by a strong Australian 2nd XI. The issues involved were presented in more straightforward financial terms than those of the 1890s, but they are an equally instructive lesson in the perils encountered by New Zealand cricket in its effort to present a united public face.

With very limited funds of its own, and a very limited direct income, the NZCC was entirely dependent on the

¹⁸. Ibid, 20 November 1896, p.6.

¹⁹. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, pp.38-9.

provincial cricket associations pooling funds to finance touring teams. Of course, the associations were in an equally precarious position - and Wellington usually more so than most. Consequently, when the NZCC approached the WCA in August 1909 seeking its share of a guarantee for the forthcoming Australian tour, the request was declined.²⁰ Wellington pointed out that it had lost heavily after guaranteeing £500 towards the MCC tour of 1906-07. Although the gate for its own match had been quite satisfactory, the return on its guarantee was severely depleted by gate failures in other areas. Now, in 1910, the Association was equally unwilling to cover the losses of others. At the same time it did not expect anyone else to cover possible Wellington losses. To this end, the NZCC was informed that Wellington would provide a £100 guarantee for its own match against the Australians, but would contribute nothing to the pool.²¹

But Wellington had adopted a minority position. When the NZCC surveyed its other members as to the possibility of abandoning the pooling system, it received a unanimous endorsement of the *status quo* - especially from the minor (non first-class) provincial associations which had benefited considerably from the contributions provided by larger centres.²² As Wellington refused to alter its stance, it was excluded from the tour itinerary. However, this move prompted Auckland and Otago to threaten their own withdrawal from the pooling system unless Wellington was allocated a fixture.

²⁰. NZCC, Management Committee Minutes, 17 August 1909.

²¹. NZCC, Special General Meeting Minutes, 2 December 1909; *New Zealand Freelance*, 5 February 1910, p.18.

²². NZCC, Management Committee Minutes, 3 December 1909; 13 December 1909; 23 December 1909.

Moreover, only Canterbury agreed to provide extra funds to cover the shortfall caused by the missing Wellington guarantee. On 21 January 1910, the NZCC dispatched a cable to the Australian Board of Control informing them that the tour was off.²³

How the tour was saved is not altogether clear. In a strong cable the Australian Board informed the NZCC that there would be "future consequences" unless its internal disputes were resolved and the tour proceeded according to plan.²⁴ When the Australians arrived in New Zealand, they not only played the Wellington provincial team, but one of the two "Test" matches was also staged at the Basin Reserve. But the resurrection of the tour did not prevent a scathing attack on the WCA by the *Lyttelton Times*. In a long editorial it suggested that the Wellington position was nothing more than a disruptive campaign to shift the headquarters of New Zealand cricket from Christchurch to Wellington - a city which already controlled New Zealand rowing, rugby and tennis.

Whether the change should be made is a question for the devotees of the sport to decide, but in view of recent events we should not have much confidence ourselves in an administration body that derives its inspiration from the gentlemen who are dictating the present policy of the northern Association.²⁵

The accuracy of such claims was offset when the WCA defeated a motion - promoted by E.H. Williams of Hawkes Bay - to move the NZCC from Christchurch.²⁶ But it is the negative perception by the other provinces of Wellington's position that is ultimately more important than the facts of the matter.

²³. Ibid, 30 December 1909; 17 January 1910; 22 January 1910.

²⁴. Ibid, 21 January 1910.

²⁵. *Lyttelton Times*, 26 January 1910, p.6.

²⁶. See Chapter Eleven.

Such displays of vitriol do not sit comfortably with the imperial and federal rhetoric which had greeted touring teams during the 1880s. There had always been a certain amount of rivalry as provincial XVIII's and XXII's compared their performances, but this was a rather more abstract notion than the interaction that was demanded of them after 1894. Instead of bringing men, colonies and the Empire closer together, efforts to select New Zealand teams between 1894 and 1914 frequently did more to drive them apart. Not that this was by any means unique to New Zealand. Australian cricket was marked by numerous inter-colonial, selectorial and player disputes with much higher stakes than those in New Zealand.²⁷ But inter-provincial acrimony was only one part of a process which also included the practical impediments to cricket outlined earlier, the general lack of international success for New Zealand teams, and the realisation that their few good performances were against decidedly second-rate opposition. When these elements are combined, a picture emerges as to why New Zealand cricket entirely failed to embrace popular imagination - to say nothing of cultural and political aspiration - in the manner of its Australian counterpart.

The lack of confidence and expectation in New Zealand cricket during the 1890s is most evident in the muted responses to rare moments of success. Neither the Canterbury victory over New South Wales in January 1894, nor those by New Zealand over New South Wales in January 1896 and

27. Montefiorie, *op. cit.*, *passim*; R. Campbell, "Punch-Up that Divided Australia", in J. Pollard, ed, *Six and Out*, enlarged ed., Sydney 1980, pp.102-6.

Queensland at the end of the same year prompted anything by way of editorial observation or any suggestion that the results may offer a more general measure of New Zealand's standing in the world. Indeed, after the Canterbury victory the *New Zealand Referee* rather discouragingly observed that questions were inevitably being asked concerning the strength of the New South Wales team.²⁸ Two weeks later, when New Zealand sustained a generally unexpected loss to the same opposition, the *Lyttelton Times* assessed the tour in an equally gloomy perspective; "We confess to an obstinate belief that were the elevens to meet again a close battle ought to ensue, but they will not meet again, and the result of their only encounter is that the second eleven of New South Wales has defeated New Zealand with almost ridiculous ease".²⁹

Somewhat perversely, New Zealand successes were greeted with more pleasure in Sydney than they were in New Zealand. Following the Canterbury victory, the *Sydney Referee* was decidedly magnanimous:

In a match fought out under equal conditions, Welshmen will not be chagrined to hear that the New Zealanders have won. Such an ending will at once prove that the good old game is going ahead over there, and news of that kind will be sweet to us all.³⁰

Despite the reluctance of the NSWCA to sanction the 1894 tour, there was considerable praise for New Zealand cricket authorities and much hope that interchanges between the two colonies would be more frequent.³¹

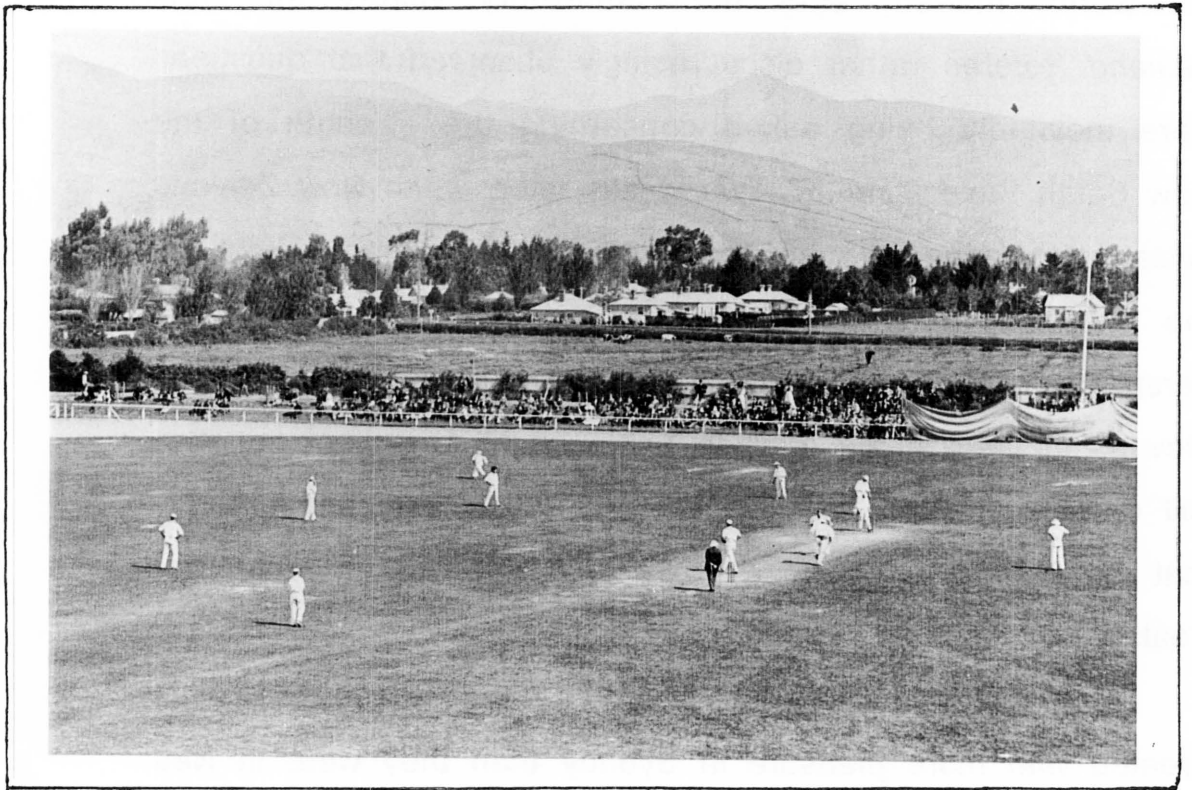
This pattern was repeated in 1895. The Sydney press criticised the NSWCA for altering tour arrangements without

28. *New Zealand Referee*, 8 February 1894, p.24.

29. *Lyttelton Times*, 19 February 1894, p.4.

30. *Referee*, 7 February 1894, p.8.

31. *Ibid*, 7 January 1894, p.8; 7 March 1894, p.8.



New South Wales v. New Zealand, Lancaster Park, Christchurch, 1895. New Zealand achieved its first victory over a touring team - defeating New South Wales by 142 runs. L.A. Cuff and J.C. Lawton are batting. (J.J. Kinsey photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.8912)

consulting the NZCC - a body which had acted "with a generosity which is rare among cricket officials".³² And when the touring team lost to New Zealand, the *Referee* again aligned itself with the wider cause of cricket.

No one will accuse me of any lack of patriotic feeling for expressing a high sense of pleasure at the result of the game ... [It] is welcome evidence that the good old game of cricket has some worthy exponents across the seas. To me the ability of New Zealand to beat this combination of Welshmen is a source of much joy We have long since been able to look up to New Zealanders as the teachers of our footballers who favour rugby And let us hope with all our hearts that the same improvement will mark their cricket through contacts with New South Wales.³³

Although the New Zealand team had won two of its first three representative matches, the gulf between Australia and New Zealand was such as to allow a large degree of Australian complacency and paternalism. It is impossible to imagine an English victory being received in such welcoming terms.

One event - the 1899 New Zealand tour of Australia - neatly encapsulates the disparity of the trans-Tasman relationship. Whereas the first Australian tour of England in 1878 signalled a new epoch in Anglo-Australian relations, both on and off the field, the first New Zealand venture overseas was, if anything, a backwards step for cricket. It accentuated provincial antagonism, almost bankrupted the NZCC and reinforced the prevailing sense of inferiority.

Problems surfaced as soon as the New Zealand touring party was announced in December 1898. Of the original selection, which comprised two players from Auckland, three from Canterbury and four each from Otago and Wellington, four withdrew for business reasons - including three

³². *Sydney Telegraph*, 24 October 1895, NSWCA Cuttings Book.

³³. *Referee*, 8 January 1896, p.8.

Wellingtonians. Of their replacements, one also withdrew. Another original selection, Alfred Clarke of Otago, was replaced shortly before the team departed. The final tour party comprised five Canterbury players, three each from Auckland and Otago, and two from Wellington.³⁴

So many changes raised questions about the value of the tour. On 9 January 1899, Wellington's *Evening Post* warned that "With men constantly dropping out, there seems to be such difficulties in the way of making the trip. It will be absurd if it becomes necessary to send away a combination that is not representative of the colony's strength and, at the present time, this contingency appears to threaten".³⁵ Two days later the Wellington Cricket Association embodied this concern in a formal motion; "That owing to so few of the original team being able to get away, this Association strongly recommends that the tour be abandoned".³⁶ The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* commented that "It is a pity the tour should be made with a team that [is] certainly not representative of a very weak cricket colony".³⁷

Despite the numerous changes to the team, much of the controversy which surfaced during January 1899 was directed against some of the original tour selections - and especially Frank Ashbolt of Wellington, the son of Arthur Ashbolt the Cricket Council's sole selector. Even Wellington's *Evening Post* was moved to question Ashbolt's selection - although only in terms of the exclusion of Earnest Upham, another Wellington

³⁴. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.40.

³⁵. *Evening Post*, 9 January 1899, p.2.

³⁶. Quoted in *New Zealand Mail*, 12 January 1899, p.22.

³⁷. Quoted in Neely, et, al, *Men in White*, p.40.

player.³⁸ "Slip", the cricket columnist for the *Otago Witness*, declared that "in the selection of this team such a scandalous preference has been shown to cricketing mediocrity over merit, that I should do outrage to my own feelings were I not to speak plainly on the subject". As to Ashbolt, "Slip" suggested that he had deliberately avoided the fixture between Wellington and Canterbury in which "the hollowness of his pretensions to a place in the New Zealand team would have been completely exposed by his bowling being slammed all over Lancaster Park".³⁹ The *New Zealand Herald* chimed in with its own condemnation of both Arthur Ashbolt as a selector and the NZCC for appointing him.

That such a state of affairs should exist seems to indicate a rotteness in the state of Denmark, or, in other words, that the system of entrusting the selection of a representative team in the hands of one man - and more particularly one not fully cognisant of the relative merits of the cricketers of the colony - is a wrong one, and it is hoped that the New Zealand Cricket Council will profit by the present pointed illustration, as shown in the general dissatisfaction with which the selection has been hailed.⁴⁰

As it transpired, Frank Ashbolt contributed none for 72 and 48 runs in four innings in his two first-class appearances on the Australian tour. He did not play for New Zealand again.⁴¹

The replacement of Otago's Alfred Clarke shortly before the team departed prompted another more complicated series of protests. A member of the 1890 New South Wales team, Clarke shifted to New Zealand and represented his adopted colony against the next New South Wales team in 1894. But his selection for the Australian tour was vetoed by the New Zealand Cricket Council on the grounds of "moral delinquency

³⁸. *Evening Post*, 31 December 1898, p.3.

³⁹. *Otago Witness*, 12 January 1899, p.36.

⁴⁰. *New Zealand Herald*, 21 January 1899, p.6.

⁴¹. McConnell & Smith, op. cit., p.40.

eight years previously".⁴² While the Council made no further comment about the supposed offence, Clarke was reputedly asked to state that he was unavailable for the tour due to work commitments. This request, which would protect the Council from potential criticism, was refused.⁴³

The ambiguity surrounding Clarke's exclusion moved the *Otago Witness* to question the value of the NZCC and of the general principle of centralised administration in sport. There was too much petty jealousy and too many administrators "on the make" who put their own interests before those of cricket.⁴⁴ The *Otago Daily Times* called for the Council to explain its position regarding Clarke so as to save further embarrassment to Arthur Ashbolt.

If the team was selected on the merits of the players as players, the omission of Clarke would simply be an indefensible blunder. If considerations other than the merits of the players have been allowed to operate in the selection of the team, then the New Zealand Cricket Council should let the fact be known in order that the selector may be spared the harsh judgement to which the disregarding of the claims of the man who is perhaps the only really brilliant batsman in the colony will otherwise subject him.⁴⁵

All things considered, this was an ominous beginning for a tour which was supposed to promote the virtues of the colony to an Australian audience.

As the team prepared to leave New Zealand in early February 1899, there were very mixed expectations. The *Otago Witness* suggested that while the team would not win all of their matches, they would not be disgraced. The *Evening Post* added that the tour was primarily an educational venture in

⁴². Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.40.

⁴³. *Otago Witness*, 12 January 1899, p.36.

⁴⁴. Ibid.

⁴⁵. *Otago Daily Times*, 7 January 1899, p.4.

which New Zealand was not expected to win - although recent performances against Australian touring teams suggested that they stood an even chance in the minor fixtures in Tasmania. The *New Zealand Herald* doubted that they would even win in Tasmania.⁴⁶ In Sydney, *The Leader* prophetically observed that as the Australian XI were playing three matches prior to their departure for England, the New Zealand tour should be postponed to avoid a clash of interests.⁴⁷

If the tour preliminaries served to expose the factionalism and vulnerability of New Zealand cricket, the subsequent course of events was no more encouraging. In their minor matches the New Zealanders drew with South Tasmania and defeated North Tasmania by 150 runs. But the two first-class fixtures, against Victoria and New South Wales, were both lost heavily. The innings and 384 run loss to New South Wales remains New Zealand's largest defeat. Moreover, neither of the colonial sides was at full strength. Victoria was without five of its regular players - a fact which the *Referee* described as usual "when the match is not absolutely first-class".⁴⁸ Nevertheless they made their highest first-class total to that date. New South Wales, although fielding its regular bowlers, gave opportunities to several promising batsmen - including one Victor Trumper who responded with a double century.⁴⁹

Financially and organisationally the tour was a disaster.

⁴⁶. *Otago Witness*, 2 February 1899, p.22; *Evening Post*, 16 January 1899, p.4; *New Zealand Herald*, 28 January 1899, p.6.

⁴⁷. *The Leader*, 21 January 1899, p.16.

⁴⁸. *Referee*, 22 February 1899, p.8.

⁴⁹. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, pp.40-2; Webster, op. cit., pp.248,258-9.

It lost in excess of £260 - reducing the bank balance of the Cricket Council from £140 to £4 and forcing the four main provincial associations to pay guarantees of £25 each to bail out the Council.⁵⁰ L.T. Cobcroft, the former New South Wales player who captained the New Zealand team, attributed the loss to the bad timing of the tour. It coincided with racing carnivals in Tasmania and Melbourne and with the "Test match" between the Australian XI and The Rest in Sydney.⁵¹ Daniel Reese, during a 1914 interview with the *Sydney Referee*, said that he had many regrets regarding the 1899 tour. Several good young players had not been selected, and the tour was badly organised by the New Zealand Cricket Council in that there were only four matches in seven weeks.⁵²

The final stages of the tour were also marred by a controversy which reveals a good deal about the apparent attitude to New Zealand among the officialdom of Australian cricket. Several New Zealand players complained that they had not been treated with the courtesies normally accorded to visiting Australian colonial teams in Sydney. There was no formal welcome from the New South Wales Cricket Association when they arrived, and local officials later ignored them at a banquet supposedly held in their honour. Although members of the team had received tickets to the match between Australia and The Rest, they had been left to pay for their own lunches.⁵³ As one player put it, "That we received scurvy treatment at the hands of the representative

⁵⁰. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.42.

⁵¹. *Otago Witness*, 16 March 1899, p.36.

⁵². Ibid, 8 October 1913, p.54.

⁵³. Ibid, 30 March 1899, p.42.

cricketing body of NSW admits to no question".⁵⁴

These feelings were certainly echoed in Sydney. At a sometimes heated special meeting of the NSWCA, J.C. Davis, organiser of two unofficial New South Wales tours to New Zealand, suggested that a New Zealand team ought to be treated with greater courtesy than visiting Australian teams - more so given the extreme hospitality extended to New South Wales teams in New Zealand. The secretary of the Association replied that they had done all that was required and were not in the business of running "junkets" for touring cricketers. But a motion was proposed to donate the entire gross receipts from the New South Wales fixture (£116) to the New Zealand Cricket Council as compensation for any discourtesy. An amendment to reduce this to £50 was lost amid claims from the Association that the public would regard any sum as "conscience money". It was finally resolved to review the matter at a meeting three months later.⁵⁵ The balance sheet of the NZCC indicates that no payment was ever forthcoming from the NSWCA.

There were few encouraging signs from the tour. Among New Zealand sources, only the *New Zealand Referee* offered faint hope that the team might benefit from their experiences.

No one in this colony, I fancy, anticipated that the New Zealand team would win in Melbourne or Sydney, and the idea in playing the best teams in those places was to gain experience, and provided our men profit by the lesson, good must result from their tour.⁵⁶

The Sydney *Referee* was able to appreciate the value of the

⁵⁴. *New Zealand Referee*, 15 March 1899, p.38.

⁵⁵. *Daily Telegraph*, 21 March 1899, NSWCA Cuttings Book; NSWCA, Minutes, 30 March 1899.

⁵⁶. *New Zealand Referee*, 1 March 1899, p.33.

tour irrespective of its results.

The trip has marked a new era in cricket in the southern hemisphere, and may justly be said to have completed the federation of the grand old English game in this part of the world. Therefore those who proposed the visit and those who carried it out are entitled to every congratulation on their sportsmanlike behaviour, especially as regards the manner in which they accepted their defeats.⁵⁷

But the most realistic verdict is that offered by Don Neely in his monumental *Men in White*.

Any sense of optimism carried by the team to Australia after home wins over New South Wales and Queensland had been blasted by the humiliating failures on the tour. The New Zealanders returned with the sober knowledge that they were mere novices in the world of cricket.⁵⁸

The twentieth century offered nothing to alleviate the malaise that descended over New Zealand cricket after the Australian tour. As links between England and Australia flourished, and Ashes Tests drew increasingly large crowds amid what has been termed the "Golden Age" of cricket, relations between Australia and New Zealand were little different to the notions of inferiority which had characterised earlier encounters.

Reactions to the Australian touring team of 1905 are typical of the prevailing outlook. The main point of debate was whether New Zealand teams would meet the visitors with odds or on even terms. Canterbury predictably decided to take the field with an XI. Opinion in Otago generally favoured an XI rather than XV on the basis that the extra fielders would inhibit the Australian batsmen and thus reduce the educational value of the match. As the *Otago Witness* explained; "the object is not so much to beat the Australians ... but to see

⁵⁷. *Sydney Mail*, 4 March 1899, p.531.

⁵⁸. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.42.

these masters of bat and ball, and to get from them an idea of how cricket should be played under fair and recognised conditions of the game. This is impossible if odds are persisted in".⁵⁹ Whether Otago players felt suitably educated by their subsequent innings and 172 run defeat is a moot point.

The debate over odds was strongest in Wellington and Auckland. In Wellington the *New Zealand Times* declared that the public were pleased with the abandonment of an "ill-advised" plan to play only XI against the Australians. "For eleven such players as those Wellington possesses to oppose the visiting combination would be the broadest comedy".⁶⁰ The debate in Auckland was eventually resolved in similar fashion. Writing to the *New Zealand Herald*, "Old Player" insisted that Auckland should field an XI as fifteen fielders would curtail the style of the Australian batsmen. Moreover, Canterbury was fielding only XI, and Auckland was obliged to do likewise.⁶¹ Two days later, "One of the Public" retorted that the Auckland Cricket Association ought to increase rather than decrease the size of its team. "Playing 11 men only would be to court certain defeat, proclaim our self-conceit and stupidity, and reduce the contest to a ridiculous farce".⁶² Another correspondent stressed that the Australians would be required to put more effort into a match with a XV.

The public will not go to the domain in any large numbers just to witness an exhibition of Australian cricket; but I am persuaded they will go in thousands to witness the grand match now that there is to be at least a semblance of equality in the contest, and had 18 local men been chosen,

⁵⁹. *Otago Witness*, 25 January 1905, p.56.

⁶⁰. *New Zealand Times*, 14 February 1905, p.4.

⁶¹. *New Zealand Herald*, 31 January 1905, p.9.

⁶². *Ibid*, 2 February 1905, p.7.

the attendance would be still larger.⁶³

The Auckland XV were duly defeated by an innings and 160 runs and Wellington were lucky to escape with a draw.

Despite these debates, the tour did mark the first occasion on which New Zealand met a full Australian team on even terms. But few were willing to see this as a significant advance for New Zealand cricket. Prior to the first match in Christchurch, *The Star* offered a rather backhanded compliment to the Cricket Council for their decision to play on even terms. But it questioned the status of the fixture.

If New Zealand is to be treated to a vigorous whacking, then it is advisable that the process should be made as free from humiliation as possible. But, while we commend the authorities for selecting only eleven men ... we think that they have made a mistake in dubbing the 'butchery' a 'test' match. If as a joke it were calculated to inspire our representatives with confidence it would have its use. But it is much more likely to make them simply feel foolish.⁶⁴

Rain enabled New Zealand to escape from the Christchurch match with a draw, but nothing could save them in Wellington as they lost by an innings and 358 runs. While New Zealand had not been expected to win, *The Press* complained that the manner of their loss was most unsatisfactory. Even the New Zealand fielding had declined to "third grade" standard.⁶⁵

In the end, the Cricket Council's use of the term "Test match" was not as flippant as *The Star* had suggested. In 1948, the Imperial Cricket Conference belatedly granted Test status to New Zealand's match against Australia in 1946 - thus making it the first Test match between the two countries. At the same time New Zealand attempted to secure similar retrospective status for the two matches of 1905. This was

⁶³. Ibid, 3 February 1905, p.7.

⁶⁴. *The Star*, 9 March 1905, p.2.

⁶⁵. *The Press*, 20 March 1905, p.6.

rejected, in large part because Australia refused to alter its records.⁶⁶

These defeats, and those against Warwick Armstrong's Australian 2nd XI in 1910, inevitably took their toll on public enthusiasm for international cricket. Indeed, the "Test" debacle against Armstrong's team in Wellington prompted the *New Zealand Times* to question the basic value of touring teams.

The most they accomplish we should think is to afford the public an agreeable spectacle and show how unutterably inferior our cricketers are in skill. Beyond learning that they play the game very badly in comparison with Australians, the New Zealanders are not likely to derive much benefit from contemplation of their opponent's skill.⁶⁷

Given New Zealand's abysmal record against Australian teams, such cynicism was only to be expected.

But the NZCC was nothing if not determined. Despite the record of defeats, constant efforts were made to attract Australian teams to New Zealand and to arrange a regular interchange between the two countries. In 1899 and 1902 the Council tried to entice Australian teams to New Zealand after tours of England, and it was also suggested that one of the Ashes tests might be played in Christchurch as part of the 1907 International Exhibition.⁶⁸ Various proposals were also floated to bring New South Wales, South Australian and Tasmanian teams to New Zealand.⁶⁹ In April 1911 E.C.J. Stevens stated that the greatest benefit to New Zealand

⁶⁶. Harte, op. cit., p.412.

⁶⁷. *New Zealand Times*, 30 March 1910, p.4.

⁶⁸. *Otago Witness*, 16 March 1899, p.36; NZCC, Committee Minutes, 25 March 1902; 15 May 1906.

⁶⁹. For example, NZCC, Committee Minutes, 17 March 1908; Management Committee Minutes, 12 December 1912; 6 May 1913.

cricket would derive from regular contacts with Australia, rather than attempts to pursue English or South African teams. Frederick Wilding added that the ideal would be for New Zealand to tour Australia every five years, with New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria to visit in the alternate years.⁷⁰ None of these proposals amounted to anything.

However, progress was made in the other direction. After several false starts, a New Zealand team was finally dispatched to Australia in November 1913 - fifteen years after the previous visit. But as with 1899, this tour served more as a measure of the rifts and animosity within New Zealand cricket, and the disparity with Australia, than as any tool for expressing notions of identity or development.

The selection of the New Zealand team did not proceed smoothly. According to the *Otago Witness* the tour selectors had been instructed to focus on younger players and on the educational value of the tour. It was not strictly necessary to send the best team to Australia.⁷¹ Thus, when the selected team included the 50 year old Charles Boxshall and several other players over 30, the *Witness* accused the selectors of having no regard for the future of New Zealand cricket. As there was no hope of even the strongest New Zealand team competing with Australian State teams, or doing anything to encourage greater Australian interest in New Zealand cricket, the game would have been better served by including those who stood to benefit most from the experience. Both the *Witness*

⁷⁰. NZCC, General Meeting Minutes, 27 April 1911.

⁷¹. *Otago Witness*, 10 October 1913, p.53.

and the OCA strongly condemned the lack of equity in the selection policy. They felt that the team should have been selected equally from each province in order to secure the widest possible benefit for the New Zealand game.⁷² To this end, Otago supporters also directed barbs at self-satisfied Cantabrians who saw no fault with the prevailing selection policy.⁷³ Canterbury provided seven of the fourteen players.

In terms of results the tour was only marginally better than its predecessor. New Zealand won four and drew one of its minor matches, secured a twelve run victory against Queensland and a draw in a high scoring encounter with South Australia. But they lost to New South Wales by an innings and 247 runs and to Victoria by an innings and 110 runs.⁷⁴ Of the New South Wales match, Sydney critics could find nothing worthy of praise:

There can be only one conclusion on the all round form of the match. New Zealand has not improved and at present is in quite another class - a lower one - to that of the best Australian teams. And it is really questionable whether a two days slaughter of this kind has any real practical value educationally for the keen, willing-to-learn, but mediocre islanders.⁷⁵

"Felix" of the *Australasian* was equally candid about New Zealand's experience at the hands of Victoria - observing that the match "was poorly attended and can only be set down as hopelessly one sided".⁷⁶

The financial outcome of the tour was also less than satisfactory. Although it made a £200 surplus on the fixtures in Australia, this was entirely absorbed by repayment of

⁷². Ibid, 22 October 1913, p.53.

⁷³. Ibid, 29 October 1913, p.53.

⁷⁴. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, pp.53-6.

⁷⁵. Quoted in *Otago Witness*, 14 January 1914, p.52.

⁷⁶. *Australasian*, 17 January 1914, p.131.

original guarantees from the provincial cricket associations. Moreover, the NZCC drew heated criticism when it was discovered that they had spent £210 on payments to players during the tour. According to the OCA there had been no reference to any such payment proposal prior to the tour, and it was unlikely that the NZCC would have gained unqualified support from the provincial cricket associations had they been aware of such expenditure. "Long Slip" of the *Otago Witness* was quick to chastise the Council.

The Council may preserve the right to do what it likes with its own funds, but it is inexcusable that the guarantees of affiliated associations should be used in such manner as the payment of New Zealand cricketers on a tour of Australia without first notifying and acquiring the sanction of subscribing associations This is quite the latest Star Chamber act on the part of the New Zealand Cricket Council.⁷⁷

The NZCC replied that reimbursement of players for loss of wages had long been a part of its policy and that the prevailing rate of 5s per day could be considered a bargain. But the ACA threatened to secede from the NZCC and the OCA remained firm in its objections.⁷⁸

A flurry of letters to *The Press* in June 1914 suggests that objections to the Council's payment scheme rested more on a perception of its failure to communicate, rather than a sustained objection to the principle of player payment. S.A. Orchard, the manager of the touring team, declared that most cricketers were constantly "on the make" and determined to extract money from the Council at every opportunity. In reply, Dan Reese, the captain of the touring team, stated that his players had not asked for the tour allowance, and the initiative

⁷⁷ *Otago Witness*, 4 March 1914, p.53.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 25 March 1914, p.52; *The Press*, 11 May 1914, p.8; 10 June 1914, p.4. See also *The Press*, 31 January 1905, p.6, for a statement of NZCC policy regarding payment of expenses to players.

for it had come entirely from the NZCC. Personally, he was only in favour of payment to waged - but not salaried - players.⁷⁹

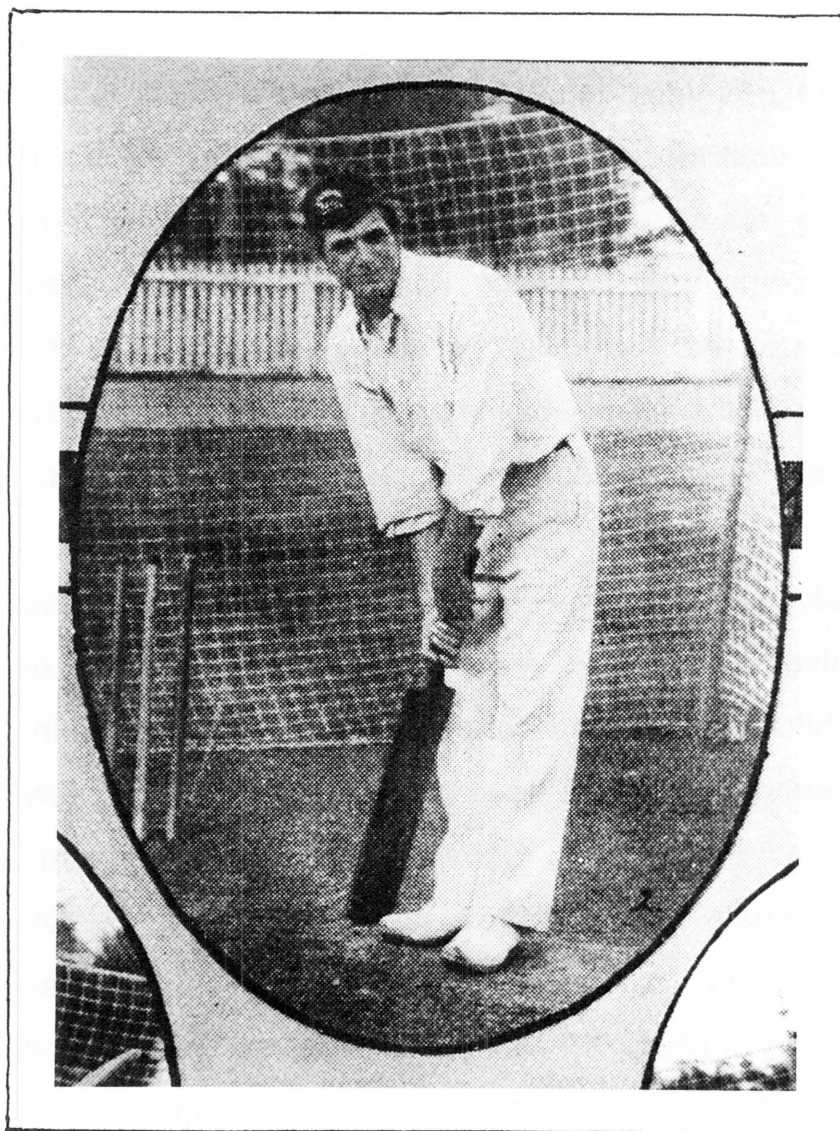
The dispute prompted the resignation of the entire NZCC Management Committee and Tim Raphael who had been Secretary of the Council since 1899.⁸⁰ While most of the members of the committee, including Raphael, soon found their way back to the Council, there was no sign of abatement in the disharmony and provincialism which had surrounded the NZCC and its representative teams during the previous two decades.

Immediately following the New Zealand tour, a strong privately organised Australian team under the captaincy of Arthur Sims, philanthropist and former New Zealand captain, toured New Zealand. As T.W. Reese put it, this team "veritably smashed their way through the Dominion" - recording innings totals of 658 against Auckland, 653 against Canterbury, 709 against Southland and an unprecedented 922 for 9 in a day against South Canterbury.⁸¹ Despite the very one sided matches, the calibre of the tourists - Armstrong, Noble, Ransford, Trumper among others - attracted strong public interest. While the performances of New Zealand teams gave little comfort, the pessimism of 1910 was replaced by a more familiar faith in the educational value of touring teams. As the *Otago Witness* expressed the cliché prior to the first "Test" match; "The question of victory or defeat will be of

⁷⁹. *The Press*, 10 June 1914, p.4; 11 June 1914, p.10; 12 June 1914, p.9; 13 June 1914, p.8; 18 June 1914, p.7.

⁸⁰. NZCC, Annual Report, 1914.

⁸¹. Quoted in Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.57.



Arthur Sims (1877-1969). As a batsman Sims was good enough to play for, and captain, New Zealand. As a philanthropist, he financed the 1914 Australian team to New Zealand, and served for a long period as a New Zealand representative to the Imperial Cricket Conference. (Weekly Press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.14801)

comparatively little moment compared with educational values that such a match will have".⁸²

Although the Australian Board of Control had not sanctioned the tour, primarily because it was privately organised, they eventually decided not to oppose it. Moreover it prompted them to finally set about formalising arrangements with New Zealand. In June 1914 the Board passed a motion: agreeing to approach the Council in an effort to arrange regular tours between the two countries.⁸³ This represented a considerable advance on the position held by the New South Wales Cricket Association during the 1890s. But the outbreak of war unfortunately halted the new initiative until the early 1920s.

The disparity which had emerged in trans-Tasman cricketing relations by 1914 was perhaps greater than it should have been. Certainly there were climatic and demographic factors which gave Australian cricket a considerable advantage over that in New Zealand.⁸⁴ But it is equally apparent that the chances of competing with Australia were undercut by repeated instances of provincial rivalry and vitriol. The precarious financial position of every provincial cricket association produced considerable reticence when it came to supporting the international objectives of the New Zealand Cricket Council. As the gap widened between Australian and New Zealand standards, the Australians perceived that they had little to gain from an involvement

⁸². *Otago Witness*, 23 February 1914, p.53.

⁸³. ABCIC, Minutes, 20 June 1914.

⁸⁴. See Chapter Eleven.

with New Zealand cricket. Eventually, this attitude forced New Zealand to look much more towards England for its international opportunities and guidance. However, this was not a prospect to dishearten the New Zealand Cricket Council.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MORE ENGLISH THAN THE ENGLISH

THE IMPERIAL CONNECTION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

There is no doubt that a strong sense of imperial and inter-colonial symbolism was associated with the middle-class stratum which dominated New Zealand cricket. And it is one which gains greater clarity because it was never subsumed by the expressions of assertive colonialism and, later, emergent nationalism which characterised Australian cricket. Indeed, quite the reverse was the case. Over time New Zealand's cricketing idyll became more firmly identified with that of distant Britain than neighbouring Australia. Despite the expense and logistical difficulties, the NZCC and the provincial cricket associations took every opportunity to entice English touring teams and players to New Zealand. Within this conception of the game, notions of victory or defeat became quite superfluous to concerns with "form" and "style". The truest form of cricket was that pursued by Oxbridge and public school amateurs.

In many respects a catalogue of reactions to the tours by Lord Hawke's England XI in 1902-03 and the Marylebone Cricket Club in 1906-07 adds nothing new to the rhetoric of cricketing imperialism outlined in earlier chapters. Its significance is one of degree - and not only in terms of the contrast with Australian cricketing nationalism. Rugby, and especially the

1905 All Black tour, was beginning to provide New Zealand with similar means of conceptualising its relationship with the Mother Country. To this one must add the reputation forged by New Zealand soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War and later during the First World War. These events contributed to the notion of a distinct New Zealand stereotype and the shaping of an independent identity within Empire. The New Zealand cricket elite, on the other hand, were still inclined in the 1930s to refer to themselves as "transplanted Britishers". They epitomised an element of the New Zealand psyche which sought to maintain close ties with Britain and which interpreted successes on battlefield and rugby field more as an affirmation of imperial virility than a statement of separate New Zealand identity.

Despite success in developing contacts with Australia, the ultimate goal of New Zealand cricket authorities was always to secure tours by English teams. The reaction of *The Press* in August 1878 to a proposed visit by Lord Harris's amateur England team is typical.

Such a visit would do more real good to the noble game than almost any number of matches with professional players. The character of the game as played by the gentlemen of England and the players is vastly different and our colonial players would derive great advantage from a contest with the former, as their play is of the more brilliant character, combining as it does good defence with grand hitting powers.¹

The tour failed to eventuate, as did numerous other attempts by Canterbury and the NZCC to entice touring teams during the 1880s and '90s.² In 1897 the Council even extended an

1. *The Press*, 17 August 1878, p.3.

2. *New Zealand Referee*, 24 October 1891, p.26; 15 November 1894, p.33; 15 September 1897, p.36.

invitation to an English parliamentary cricket team - a prospect which the *Referee* greeted with enthusiasm. "Since the Jubilee, most members of the Imperial Parliament feel their education incomplete until they have seen the Empire, and no more agreeable way presents itself than through the medium of the national game - cricket".³ The tour failed to materialise.

Finally the decision was made to forego the Australian connection and arrange an English touring team exclusively for New Zealand. When the NZCC received word that A.C. MacLaren's team would not be able to extend its Australian tour to include New Zealand in 1902, a letter was sent to the Yorkshire captain, Lord Hawke, requesting him to bring an English amateur team to New Zealand. The Council stressed that although cricket was the first priority, the tour would not be as businesslike as English visits to Australia, and would include opportunities for other recreation and sightseeing.⁴

When the tour was confirmed in April 1902, the Council could not disguise its pleasure:

The Chairman [E.C.J. Stevens] thought that nothing could be better for New Zealand cricket than the visit of a team such as that now proposed, and speaking for himself, he would rather see a team of English amateurs than a professional team or one from Australia.⁵

The preference for an amateur team was no idle consideration. When Lord Hawke announced that he was having difficulty recruiting amateur players, and that the team should contain two professional bowlers, the Council passed a motion reaffirming its desire for a purely amateur team. The Auckland

³. *New Zealand Referee*, 6 October 1897, p.30; 15 December 1897, p.33.

⁴. NZCC, Committee Minutes, 21 December 1901.

⁵. *Ibid*, 26 April 1902.

Cricket Association also threatened to withdraw its financial guarantee for the tour if the team included any professional players and if they played any matches in Australia either before or after the New Zealand tour. It was felt that a visit to Australia would compromise both the New Zealand itinerary and the "holiday" aspect of the tour.⁶ Eventually, Lord Hawke won both points. Two professional bowlers were included, and the team played three first-class matches in Australia.⁷

There was a deliberate effort on the part of the NZCC to shy away from Australia and from any vestige of professionalism. In part this was a reaction against New Zealand's unfortunate experiences in contacts with Australia during the 1890s - and especially with the New South Wales Cricket Association in 1899. Equally, it was a reflection of the strong middle class and public school heritage of the upper echelon of New Zealand cricket's administration - and especially the Christ's College old boys who monopolised the CCA and NZCC..

Underpinning everything was a feeling that an English amateur team would bring about the "salvation" and "purification" of New Zealand cricket. Ignoring the Australian teams of the 1890s, Alfred Kidd, the Mayor of Auckland, said that Lord Hawke's team would give a considerable public boost to cricket - a game which had languished somewhat since the visit of Alfred Shaw's England XI twenty years earlier.⁸ The 1902 NZCC Annual Report held similar hopes;

There is reason to hope that the visit of a team of such high calibre will

⁶ Ibid, 18 August 1902; Special Committee Minutes, 30 August 1902.

⁷ NZCC, Committee Minutes, 18 September 1902.

⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 December 1902, p.6.

cause a revival in cricket throughout the colony quite equal to that in Australia after the visit of Lord Sheffield's team there. When we remember the apathy existing among the Australian cricketing public for some years prior to 1892-3 [sic] the hope is not too sanguine.⁹

Lord Sheffield's patronage of a team to Australia in 1891-92 was conceived as a deliberate contrast to the bitter financial wranglings and excessive competitiveness which had characterised the professional touring teams of the 1880s.¹⁰

The itinerary for Lord Hawke's team further suggests that the NZCC perceived them as missionary saviours rather than opponents to be challenged at every opportunity. Pelham Warner, who assumed the captaincy of the team when Lord Hawke was forced to withdraw, complained with hindsight that the itinerary contained far too many fixtures of dubious cricketing value. "We had too many games against odds, against cricketers of the rustic and Salt Bush Bill type, and a better means of improving cricket would have been to have had more eleven a side matches".¹¹ Similarly, the *Otago Witness* felt that the Council was subjecting the tourists to a large number of redundant fixtures - and for motives that were apparently more pecuniary than cricketing.

Having got the team safely in the colony, the Council has proceeded to drag them round and force them to play all sorts of idiotic matches in all sorts of absurd places against innumerable hordes of back blocks cricketers simply and solely for the purpose of making money out of them, as if they were a team of performing tigers or a crowd of variety artists. At any rate we cannot credit the Council with the imbecility of thinking that the visitors will enjoy playing on concrete pitches, and knocking down an enormous number of wickets defended by Saltbush Bill and Clancy of the Overflow, and other wayback dwellers. The cricket of back blocks will not be improved, any more than a Kaffir would be improved by five minutes with the 'First Principles' of Herbert Spencer, and no reasonable man can imagine that the visitors will feel anything but a profound ennui at the silly matches. So the only conclusion must be that the Council is merely

⁹. NZCC, Annual Report, 1902.

¹⁰. Inglis, op. cit., pp.161-2.

¹¹. P.F. Warner, *Cricket Across the Seas*, London, 1903, p.140.

using its guests for the purpose of making money.¹²

Logic suggests that New Zealand, the weakest cricketing colony in Australasia, ought to have fielded its strongest teams against an English touring party described as being better than average county standard.¹³ That only seven of the eighteen matches were first-class and on even terms suggests that the NZCC was more interested in fostering "inclusive" cricket, wherein as many players as possible were exposed to the finer English traditions of the game, than "competitive" cricket which would benefit its best players. As a basis for integrating cricket into notions of colonial identity, the New Zealand approach was amateur rather than Australian.

Australia during the same period was clearly moving away from an odds and "up-country" itinerary to one which better served the higher, publicly visible, aims of its cricket. Whereas Andrew Stoddart's touring team of 1894-95 played twelve first-class fixtures out of a total of 23, and twelve of 22 in 1897-98, the MCC side of 1903-04 had fourteen first-class encounters on a twenty match tour. In 1907-08 eighteen out of nineteen fixtures were first-class, and fourteen of eighteen in 1911-12. Even allowing that there were no Test matches to inflate the first-class content of its tours, the attitude of New Zealand administrators appears decidedly unambitious. Between 1864 and 1914, only 39% of matches played by touring teams in New Zealand were first-class (68 of 175). For the period 1920-39 the figure rises to 45.5% (61 of 134). The Australian figures are 26.3% (57 of 216) for the

¹². *Otago Witness*, 28 January 1903, p.53.

¹³. P.F. Warner, *My Cricketing Life*, London, 1920, p.120.

period 1862-90, 59.9% (106 of 177) for the period 1891-1914 and 75% (137 of 182) for the period 1920-39.¹⁴

To some extent the amateur objectives of New Zealand cricket administrators are also evident in the off-field activities of touring teams. The original itinerary for Lord Hawke's team included a larger than usual number of "leisure days" - in part to satisfy the dedicated trout fishermen among the touring team. This itinerary was eventually altered by the tourists themselves, in order to accommodate their more lucrative and competitive fixtures in Australia.¹⁵ But the recreation which they did pursue was of a conventionally elite nature. In Auckland there was an "Oxford and Cambridge dinner" attended by the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, and numerous other local dignitaries. They were also entertained on two occasions at the Wellington Club, and at the Christchurch Club, as well as at race meetings and a privately guided visit to the Rotorua thermal district.¹⁶ Because of the financial position of the NZCC prior to the tour, the team were billeted in private homes rather than in hotels - a situation which left fewer opportunities than normal to mix with local players and the public.¹⁷

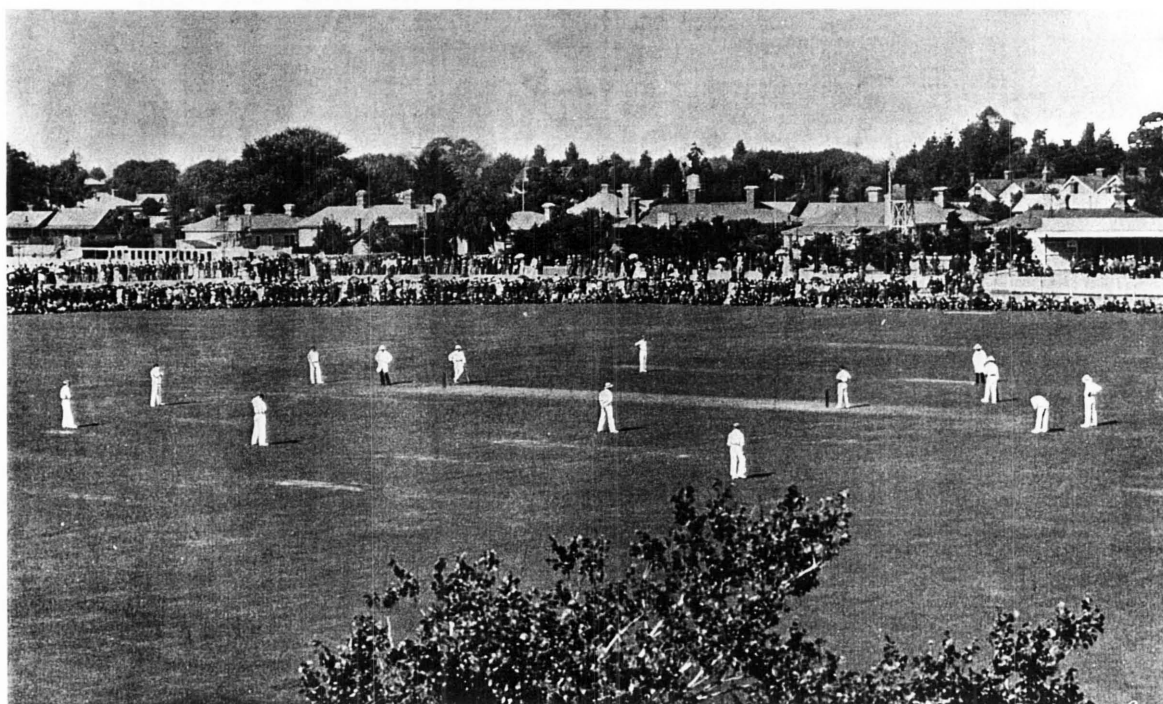
This sort of social round was not confined to Lord Hawke's team. Dan Reese recalled that all of the Australian teams which visited Christchurch during the 1890s were entertained in extravagant fashion either at "Thorrington" by

14. Figures derived from Webster, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Smith & Payne, *op. cit.*, p.333. The comparative figures are not affected by the definition of a first-class match - a definition which owes more to the accepted status and designation of the teams involved than their standard of performance.

15. NZCC, Annual Report, 1903.

16. Warner, *Cricket Across the Seas*, pp.25,27-35,135.

17. Cotter, *op. cit.*, p.35.



Lord Hawke's XI v. Canterbury, Lancaster Park, 1903. Although the tourists won all of their matches convincingly, Canterbury's loss by 133 runs represented a better performance than most. (Weekly press photo, Canterbury Museum: Ref.3209)

the wealthy Clark family, or at "Fownhope" by the Wilding family.¹⁸ The 1906-07 MCC team were entertained in similar fashion. Among other things, the team were entertained at dinner by the Christchurch and Dunedin Club's, enjoyed a fishing party arranged by Sir John Hall, former Premier and Mayor of Christchurch, and toured Rotorua.¹⁹ In short, there is a sense in which teams were received in a typically English "country house" fashion which insulated them from contact with the wider public and, more importantly, those cricketers who were not of the requisite social class to participate in such activities. Perhaps without realising it, the pursuit of etiquette by New Zealand cricket officials counteracted their other desire to gain maximum educational value from touring players.

While the agenda of the Cricket Council differed from its Australian counterparts, it also ran contrary to strands of an independent colonial identity which were beginning to emerge in New Zealand. The reception for Lord Hawke's team in Auckland raised precisely this juxtaposition. Pelham Warner, perhaps the most dedicated cricketing imperialist of all, explained that the particular interest of his team in visiting the most distant colony of the Empire was in part related to New Zealand's contribution to the recently concluded Anglo-Boer War.

They had all been anxious to see New Zealand because the colony had sent no less than ten contingents, consisting of some 6000 men, to aid the Mother Country in the South African war. This was a great number, but

¹⁸ Reese, *Was it all Cricket?*, pp.22-3.

¹⁹ P.R. May, *With the MCC in New Zealand*, London, 1907, pp.11-15, 29, 35, 55.

further than that the New Zealanders, according to those who had been to the war, had been unsurpassed in bravery and endurance.²⁰

By the end of a tour in which his team won all eighteen of their matches - including ten by an innings, it was surely clear to Warner that qualities of bravery and endurance did not extend to New Zealand cricket. Indeed, the colony which had done so much to enhance its imperial reputation on the battlefields of South Africa, and would soon do so again on the rugby fields of Britain, responded to the English tour with predictable humility.

Only the *New Zealand Herald* offered any hint that New Zealand teams might be competitive against Warner's team.

It goes without saying that this colony cannot place in the field, at any provincial centre, a team which can confidently hope to speed the Englishmen along with the beating our genuine good feeling teaches us would be for their betterment. But every place where they pitch their wickets can at least produce a team which will die hard and will make the visitors show us what they can really do in order to win.²¹

More typical is the debate which ensued in Wellington when the WCA decided to meet the tourists on even terms. The *Evening Post* offered the familiar argument that a XV would make the fixture rather more competitive and provide an important educational opportunity for a larger number of players.²² "The Hittite", cricket columnist for the *New Zealand Mail*, supported the WCA decision and pointed out that it was not necessary to play against the tourists in order to learn from them. "To paraphrase old Milton, 'they too can learn who only stand and gaze', and therefore the argument that fifteen players should be selected to play for Wellington so as to extend the educational influence of the game is so much

²⁰. *New Zealand Herald*, 18 December 1902, p.4.

²¹. *Ibid.*

²². *Evening Post*, 19 January 1903, p.4.

piffle".²³ At the end of the tour, after noting Warner's dislike for odds matches, the *Post* reaffirmed its earlier view.

With all due respect to so distinguished an authority, we would ask him if it benefits the game to inflict a defeat of an innings and 230 runs on an opponent? [Otago] That, surely, cannot be called cricket, and a few such thrashings destroy the public interest in the game and damp the ardour of all but the most enthusiastic.²⁴

Aside from Canterbury's loss by 133 runs, that of Wellington by ten wickets was the most creditable performance against the tourists by a provincial team.

Feelings in the South Island were no less pessimistic. Amid mortification that Otago's defeat by an innings and 230 runs had "brought home so forcibly the decadence of our local cricketers", the *Otago Daily Times* urged the OCA to immediately acquire a professional coach.²⁵ But the *Nelsonian* saw a solution closer to home as it highlighted the role that the schools needed to play in raising the standard of New Zealand cricket.

The lesson which the Englishmen have taught us in regard to our lamentable inefficiency in the art of playing this noble game ought to arouse an emulative spirit in every New Zealand lad. The triumphant career of these men throughout the entire length and breadth of New Zealand is a distinct slur on our athletic ability. It behoves us all to put forward our best energies in order to raise the standard of the game as we are all aware of the fact that the schools are the nurseries of the adult clubs. Then should an English team visit our shores once more it might encounter a reception which would debar even the most proficient of its members from retiring in order to go fishing.²⁶

Not surprisingly the NZCC concluded at the end of the tour that it was premature to consider sending another New Zealand team overseas, let alone to England.²⁷

The playing results of the tour were somewhat

²³. *New Zealand Mail*, 7 January 1903, p.34.

²⁴. *Evening Post*, 9 March 1903, p.4.

²⁵. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 February 1903, p.4; 24 February 1903, pp.4-5.

²⁶. *The Nelsonian*, Vol.18, No.3, December 1903, p.32.

²⁷. NZCC, Annual General Meeting Minutes, 30 September 1903.

irrelevant when set against its success in other respects. Lord Hawke's team completed what was far and away the most popular and profitable tour of New Zealand prior to 1914. The 1902-03 season enabled the NZCC to convert a £25.12.2 overdraft to a credit balance of £505.18.11.²⁸ When one considers that most tours, including the star-studded Australian teams of 1881, 1896 and 1905, either lost money or struggled to break even, it seems that New Zealand spectators shared the predisposition of players and officials towards the best traditions of *esprit de corps* and English amateurism. Competitive cricket was not a priority.

The lukewarm public response to the first MCC tour of New Zealand in 1906-07 only serves to clarify this idealisation of the English game. The tour produced the first defeats for any English team in New Zealand as the tourists lost to Canterbury by seven wickets and to New Zealand by 56 runs. They also contested very even draws with Auckland and Wellington. But in reality this was one of the weakest teams ever sent to New Zealand, and the reaction to it left no doubt that the cultivation of a good "form" of cricket was considered more important than the pursuit of victory. New Zealanders could derive no comfort from successes against substandard opposition. For international success to be considered worthwhile, it had to be achieved on even terms and against opposition who were able to "play the game" in all senses of the term.

The selection of the MCC team was determined, in large

²⁸. NZCC, Annual Report, 1903.

part, by the performances of its predecessor. *Wisden* noted that the 1902-03 team had been too strong for the cricket to be especially interesting or valuable to New Zealand. The MCC tour was therefore an altogether more modest venture with no professional bowlers and less powerful batting.²⁹ As the *Evening Post* noted at the end of the tour, "The idea probably was to send a team which was good enough to win, but not so strong as to overwhelm its opponents, and if this were so then the strength of our cricket was pretty accurately gauged".³⁰ Only five of the fifteen tourists had played regular County cricket during the season before the tour, and of the three who subsequently played Test cricket, only J.W.H.T. Douglas enjoyed a lengthy career.³¹

While the composition of the team lent itself to competitive cricket, it did nothing to generate public enthusiasm. Whereas Lord Hawke's team had boosted the coffers of the NZCC by more than £500, the MCC lost nearly £600. Gate receipts of £1669 were well short of the initial prediction of £2500.³² The New Zealand public were always far more interested in seeing cricketing "stars" than well contested encounters between lesser mortals. With the extensive coverage given to English cricket in the New Zealand press, the public were acutely aware of the standard and experience of the MCC team. Consequently they were not likely to be lulled into false notions of success.

Neither the Canterbury victory, nor that by New Zealand,

²⁹. *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack* 1908, London, 1908, p.503.

³⁰. Quoted in *Cricket*, 25 May 1907, p.108.

³¹. Cotter, op. cit., p.36.

³². Ibid.; NZCC, Committee Report: MCC Tour 1906-07.

generated any form of national or imperial sentiment. *The Press*, while recognising that a Canterbury victory, even against weak opposition, offered much encouragement to New Zealand cricketers, made no grander claims for its significance.

Though a win is not everything in cricket, ... it counts for a good deal in moral effect, and should go far to counteract that unfortunate trait, occasionally displayed by our cricketers, of being bowled, or otherwise disposed of, before they get to the wicket.³³

The *Evening Post* rather tamely described the New Zealand victory at the Basin Reserve as the "happiest event of the *last week* for many New Zealanders".³⁴ Only a small crowd was present to witness what was generally regarded as a fairly predictable outcome.³⁵ The vast majority of the New Zealand press paid it no editorial attention whatsoever.

Instead of embracing the successes of the tour, there developed a greater inclination to question its real value to New Zealand cricket. The *Otago Witness* criticised the NZCC for draining funds on an MCC tour when Australian teams with far more talent could be secured at one tenth of the cost. After the brilliance of the 1905 Australian team, the MCC had contained no celebrities and attracted little interest.³⁶ Others questioned the priority and integrity of the tourists. F.C. Campbell, the President of the OCA, declared that it was disgraceful that a team of supposedly amateur gentlemen should exploit New Zealand hospitality in the manner of the MCC. The £48 in the NZCC tour accounts for washing bills and hotel tips was excessive, leaving Campbell with no desire to

³³. *The Press*, 29 December 1906, p.8.

³⁴. *Evening Post*, 12 March 1907, p.4. The italics are mine.

³⁵. *The Press*, 12 March 1907, p.8.

³⁶. *Otago Witness*, 24 April 1907, p.58; 22 May 1907, p.58.

see another English tour on similar terms.³⁷ Percy May, the leading MCC bowler, made no secret of the fact that "strenuous pleasure-seeking" sometimes had an effect on the performance of the team. Indeed, the prevailing theme of his account is of a tour in which the emphasis was as much social as sporting.³⁸

The reticence of New Zealand cricket, and its almost obsessive desire to replicate English form, is in stark contrast to rugby - and especially the tour of the first fully representative New Zealand team to Britain in 1905-06. By the end of a campaign in which they lost only one, still disputed, match against Wales, the All Black performances became the subject of immense colonial pride and no small amount of political interest and opportunism. Premier Richard Seddon was quick to seize on the tour as a means to strengthen New Zealand's profile within Empire - to say nothing of his own increasingly vulnerable Liberal Government. Replying to a *Daily Mail* query as to reasons for the success of the team, Seddon stated that "The natural and healthy conditions of colonial life produce stalwart and athletic sons of whom New Zealand and the Empire are justly proud". He also suggested that results of the tour were received in New Zealand almost as eagerly as had been reports of the South African war.³⁹ While some sections of the press condemned the Premier's "unabashed opportunism" in aligning himself with All Black success, none could question his assessment of popular feeling. As the

37. Quoted in *Brisbane Courier*, 24 September 1907. I am grateful to Geoff Vincent for this reference. See also, *Otago Witness*, 22 May 1907, p.58.

38. May, op. cit., passim.

39. Quoted in T.N.W. Buchanan, "Missionaries of Empire: 1905 All Black Tour", Research Essay, University of Canterbury, 1981, p.22.

Lyttelton Times concluded at the end of the tour, "It has remained for a band of young athletes to give the colony the widest advertisement it has ever had".⁴⁰ From this point on rugby cemented its position as the "national game".

The qualities perceived in the All Black performances are neatly summarised by Jock Phillips; "Superior physical toughness borne of an open-air life, ingenuity and mental adaptability, courage, teamwork and good fellowship, an egalitarian spirit, modest leadership from the front".⁴¹ A decade later these exact same qualities were attributed to the exploits of New Zealand troops at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. And in 1924-25, when the All Blacks completed an unbeaten tour of Britain, their successes were in turn traced back to the qualities revealed during the First World War.⁴² In the manner that Australian successes on cricket ground and battlefield were supposed to stem from a healthy climate, open spaces and egalitarian social structure, New Zealand developed an equally encompassing stereotype around which to fashion notions of an identity separate from Britain.

The singular lack of worthwhile success by New Zealand teams determined that cricket remained at the margins of this process. Moreover, the course taken by the New Zealand game, especially during the inter-war period, owes much to the fact that concepts of identity, sporting or otherwise, were never expressed as forcefully as in Australia. As a general rule, New Zealand retained an attachment to Britain far longer than Australia, Canada or South Africa. In part this reflects the

⁴⁰. *Lyttelton Times*, 7 March 1906, p.6.

⁴¹. Phillips, op. cit., p.118.

⁴². Ibid, p.119.

slightly later growth of New Zealand compared to eastern Australia, with the result that an immigrant rather than native born population predominated for longer. Moreover, there was no convict transportation to New Zealand, nor a dominant Irish population, with its attendant level of social and economic grievances, from which to ferment anti-British feeling. The Irish constituted c13% of the New Zealand population, as opposed to c25% in Australia.⁴³

Instead, in New Zealand there was a more regulated pattern of colonisation and of efforts to emulate and perpetuate English institutions. New Zealand continued to agitate for various Imperial Federation schemes and for much closer social and political ties with Britain for much longer than many Australians deemed necessary or desirable. Every New Zealand Premier from 1883 to 1912 can be quoted as favouring Imperial Federation, and at the various Colonial and Imperial conferences between 1897 and 1911 the most distant colony was the only one to consistently advocate closer union.⁴⁴ Of course one can not neglect the pronounced Anglophilia of Stanley Melbourne Bruce during his time as Australian Prime Minister, nor the conservative imperialism of the Lyons ministry during the early 1930s.⁴⁵ But the issue is perhaps one of degree. In the broadest terms, New Zealand was working to establish respect and integrity within the eyes of Britain, at a time when Australia was working to preserve imperial unity as an independent nation allied to Britain.

⁴³. Sinclair, *Destiny Apart*, p.96.

⁴⁴. Ibid, p.99.

⁴⁵. R. Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901-1975*, Richmond, Vic., 1977, pp.149-50,199-202,319-21.

New Zealand was not a willing component in the evolution from Empire to dominion status and free association. When, in 1931, the Imperial Parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, removing the last vestiges of control from London and confirming the reality of New Zealand's shift from dominion to independent state, the measure was effectively ignored. Not until 1947, after twelve years of Labour government, was the Statute grudgingly adopted.⁴⁶

New Zealand cricket fits easily within the contours of this prevailing Anglophilia. By design and by necessity, New Zealand bypassed Australia for a cricketing idyll based firmly on the playing fields of England. Moreover, when New Zealand teams finally undertook the journey "Home" during the inter-war period, they did so very much as minnows returning to the seat of Empire.

While the NZCC never abandoned its efforts to improve relations with Australia during the 1920s and 1930s, it directed its greatest energies towards Britain. Every English tour of Australia saw strenuous attempts by the Council to persuade the tourists to play even a few matches in New Zealand. But most of these proposals foundered on the refusal of the Australian Board of Control to curtail any part of its own itinerary in favour of New Zealand interests.⁴⁷ There were particularly acrimonious exchanges over the 1928-29 MCC tour of Australia. The ABC bluntly rejected an NZCC request that the last match in Australia be cancelled to allow two matches

⁴⁶. Sinclair, *Destiny Apart*, pp.96-103; Holt, *op. cit.*, pp.231-33.

⁴⁷. For example, MCC, Committee Minutes, 12 July 1909; ICC, Minutes, 20 May 1930; 25 July 1934; 15 June, 1938.

in New Zealand. They were equally abrupt in responding to a compromise whereby a small number of touring players might be released for a team combining MCC players and various of the English professional coaches already in New Zealand.⁴⁸

These coaches provide another clear illustration of the stronger English influence on New Zealand cricket. Former Australian test players Harry Graham, Jack Saunders and Albert Trott coached in Otago, Wellington and Hawke's Bay respectively, and Canterbury secured several Australian coaches in conjunction with Christ's College. But the provincial cricket associations generally preferred to tax their already strained finances with the extra expense of engaging professional coaches from England rather than Australia. Otago secured J.C. Lawton of Warwickshire during the early 1890s and Frank Shacklock of Nottinghamshire a decade later. Canterbury engaged Jim Phillip's from Middlesex during the late 1890s and later obtained the services of Edward Humphreys of Kent. Jack Board of Gloucestershire succeeded Trott in Hawke's Bay.⁴⁹ Auckland had five English coaches during the period 1907-14, including Shacklock and A.E. Relf of Sussex and England. There was another influx during the mid 1920s.⁵⁰

Wider public interest in English cricket was amply catered for by the New Zealand sporting press, and especially the *New Zealand Referee* and *Otago Witness*. In 1914, as in the 1880s, far more column inches were devoted to the English

⁴⁸. Harte, op. cit. p.311; MCC, Committee Minutes, 10 October 1927; 3 December 1928.

⁴⁹. Green, op. cit., pp.88,473,539,708,801. Although Phillips was Australian born, he was based in England.

⁵⁰. *100 Not Out*, pp.115-19.

County Championship, public schools' cricket and the leading English club sides, than to activities in Australia. Moreover, it was not uncommon for the major daily papers to editorialise on performances and developments within the English game. A case in point was the very pro-English sentiments which emerged from the New Zealand press during the Bodyline controversy of 1932-33. *The Press* accused the Australian media of sensationalism, recalled the damage inflicted on England by Australian fast bowlers Jack Gregory and Ted McDonald, in 1921, and praised the MCC for its strong condemnation of "sweeping charges" made by the Australian Board of Control. Others suggested that Bodyline was neither dangerous nor unplayable, and that the real fault lay in the techniques of Australian players.⁵¹

Disregarding the minor complaints against the ability and excesses of the 1906-07 MCC team, there is only one instance of serious conflict between New Zealand and English cricketing values. The perceived aloofness of A.C. MacLaren's MCC team in 1922-23 moved several observers to question the appropriateness of class and social distinctions in English cricket as models for the game in New Zealand. During a reception for the team in Christchurch, Daniel Reese, speaking on behalf of the New Zealand Cricket Council, suggested that although the MCC was admired as a great institution, "its constitution was not democratic enough to suit the ideas of cricketers overseas".⁵² Taking this theme further, the

⁵¹. For example, *The Press*, 20 January 1933, p.8; 23 January 1933, p.7; 25 January 1933, p.8; 2 February 1933, p.8;

⁵². Quoted in D. Kynaston, *Archie's Last Stand: MCC in New Zealand 1922-23*,

Christchurch *Sun* insisted that the MCC would be well advised to leave distinctions between amateurs and professionals at home, as New Zealanders had no intention of treating the two groups differently. Moreover, in the lack of style, enterprise or spectator appeal shown by this predominantly amateur team, the *Sun* found an obvious explanation for England's heavy losses to Australia in 1920-21. "English cricket needs to be 'gingered up'. It is wanting in imagination, courage and resource; virtues which are strongly characteristic of Australian play".⁵³

But much of the controversy can be traced to the personal tactlessness of MacLaren and the detached opportunism with which he viewed a tour that had been initiated to aid the recovery of New Zealand cricket after the Great War. Moreover, his team as a whole was not a social success. New Zealand player Eddie McLeod recalled that they had been "a little bit off-hand ... they didn't incline to mix with us".⁵⁴ That the NZCC also lost £900 on the tour can not have assisted the prevailing attitude.⁵⁵

As with Australia, the ultimate measure for New Zealand cricket could only be found on the playing fields of England. Yet it is indicative of respective standards that it took New Zealand almost fifty years longer than Australia to send a team "Home". E.G. Wynyard, captain of the MCC team, had extended an informal invitation in 1907 - prompting the *Otago*

London, 1984, p.63.

⁵³. Quoted, *Ibid*, pp.92-5, 135-6.

⁵⁴. Quoted, *Ibid*, p.136.

⁵⁵. *Ibid*.

Witness to observe that "At the first blush, however, it appears quite apparent that a New Zealand team would be very much outclassed in county cricket in the Old Country".⁵⁶ Australian players such as M.A. Noble and Victor Trumper also stressed the need to send a New Zealand team to England.⁵⁷ But it was not until 1927 that a team finally departed.

This tour, and the first test-playing tour in 1931, are instructive for lingering tones of tutelage and deference which reveal as much about the state of New Zealand's cricket as they do about its wider conception of Britain. Summarising prospects for the 1927 team, F.S. Ashley-Cooper, cricketing scholar and imperialist, declared "The Tour has been arranged, not with any idea of challenging our supremacy in the game, but from an educational point of view".⁵⁸ Former Test player Frank Mitchell added that the New Zealanders would receive a fond welcome in light of the efforts of the New Zealand Division during the Great War.⁵⁹ When the team arrived in London in April 1927, their captain, T.C. Lowry, Cambridge blue and former Somerset player, informed the British Sportsmen's Club that his men were "Britishers anxious to appear on the cricket map, and accordingly came Home not to beat the best sportsmen but to learn the rules as England taught them".⁶⁰ At the end of the tour, the New Zealand High Commissioner, Sir James Parr, affirmed the underlying importance of the venture:

The ties that held New Zealand and the home country together were ties of affection and loyalty which such visits helped to strengthen - such ties were stronger than written constitutions or bonds of steel. The team had

⁵⁶. *Otago Witness*, 9 January 1907, p.56.

⁵⁷. *Lyttelton Times*, 2 April 1911, p.8.

⁵⁸. *The Cricketer: Spring Annual 1927*, London, 1927, pp.20-5.

⁵⁹. *The Cricketer*, 7 May 1927, p.15.

⁶⁰. *The Times*, 7 May 1927, p.6.

played good cricket and had also been missionaries of Empire.⁶¹

Contrary to predictions, New Zealand performed remarkably well - winning seven and drawing fourteen of their 26 first-class matches.

Four years later, although a test match was scheduled for the first time, the conception of the tour had not changed. Arthur Donnelly, President of the New Zealand Cricket Council, highlighted its dual objectives:

They had come to England to improve the standard of the game in their own country and to promote, in some small degree, good feeling and understanding between the Mother Country and the most distant, but not least loyal, of the Dominions of the Empire.⁶²

While going out of its way to praise the fine amateur spirit maintained by Lowry and his team, *Wisden* echoed Donnelly's sentiments. "Representatives of one of our great Dominions beyond the seas, the New Zealanders looked upon the tour perhaps from a bigger point of view than the mere playing of cricket".⁶³ *The Field* was rather more direct when it asked "Who shall say that these new developments of enthusiasm for cricket do not play a modest part in the consolidation of imperial unity?".⁶⁴ At the end of the tour, the London *Truth* congratulated the New Zealanders for apparently bringing amateur ideals back to English cricket.

They have proved themselves genuine, wholehearted cricketers, playing the game in the truest and best tradition - a very different tradition from that which has been known in county cricket at times and in Australian tours often. They have had a purifying effect on the game over here. They have made sporting declarations popular. They have wiped out the old notion of 'playing for keeps'.⁶⁵

⁶¹. Ibid, 17 September 1927, p.5.

⁶². Ibid, 26 September 1931, p.3.

⁶³. *Wisden Cricketers Almanack* 1932, pt.II, pp.1-6.

⁶⁴. *The Field*, 27 June 1931, p.937.

⁶⁵. Quoted in Neely, et al, *Men in White*, p.130.

It seems that New Zealanders had finally matched their own claims to be more English than the English.

CONCLUSION

There is a common characterisation of 1914 as the end of cricket's Golden Age - as the end of a period in which cricket enjoyed huge popularity and fully established itself as a national pastime replete with an Edwardian ethos which stressed energy and elegance above all else. But New Zealand cricket is rather different. If a metallic analogy is required, 1914 might be characterised as the end of the Iron Age in New Zealand cricket - as the end of a gradual transition from primitivism to the brink of cricketing civilisation. The Golden Age, if there was one, might be found during the late 1920s and early 1930s when provincial cricket was transformed by an unprecedented supremacy of bat over ball and various New Zealand players and teams began to make a mark on the fields of England. Alternatively, one might find it as recently as the early 1980s when New Zealand fashioned a team which could consistently hold its own with all international opposition.

Yet if one looks at the bare biographical details of those who established and administered New Zealand cricket, the relative failure of the game presents a major contradiction. There were patrons aplenty with the right mix of English public school and Oxbridge grooming, wealth and influential connections to ensure that cricket gained an early hold on the fledgling settlements of New Zealand. But at the same time

there were obstacles which no amount of idealism and determination could overcome.

The formative years of New Zealand cricket owed most to the influence of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's principles of systematic colonisation. The society envisaged by Wakefield placed a premium on the replication of English values, class relationships and social customs. Where these were applied most successfully - in Wellington during the early 1840s and in Canterbury during the 1850s - cricket prospered. As well as its recreational value, it served to enhance social cohesion and class delineation, to assist the integration of recent arrivals to the fledgling colonial settlements and, above all else, to perpetuate devotion to England and all things English.

The strongest cricketing structure in New Zealand evolved in Canterbury - where the Wakefield ideal was implemented with the greatest degree of success. The Christchurch Cricket Club and its successors fashioned a socially exclusive environment which was aimed as much at the playing of cricket *per se* as at a conspicuous display of the status of those who played. This white-collar emphasis was to persist throughout the nineteenth century, allowing only limited opportunities for identifiably blue-collar clubs and players.

In Wellington during the 1850s and in Nelson where the Wakefield ideal fell well short of expectations, in Auckland where it never existed, and in Otago where it was executed by Scottish Presbyterians hostile to English influence, there was not an elite of sufficient numbers or social standing to sustain

cricket on a regular basis. Certainly the military in Auckland and Wellington continued their Empire-wide encouragement of the game, as did gold prospectors in Otago. But none of these centres could match the level of elite patronage directed to the activities of the first Canterbury cricket clubs. All of them struggled to secure and develop grounds or to counter the apathy which so easily discarded cricket amid the multitude of other concerns and priorities facing a new society.

The three decades after 1870 encompassed the transition from isolated and disparate cricketing traditions in the various settlements to a basic uniformity - if not unity. By the mid 1880s the main centres possessed fairly similar competition and administrative structures. Provincial cricket expanded dramatically during the 1890s and the New Zealand Cricket Council was formed in December 1894. But the emergence of a much larger number and variety of cricket clubs, also produced clear patterns of participation based on social class. The composition and distribution of clubs is easily mapped within the demographic and geographic patterns of each centre. Similarly, in country areas and smaller main towns, there were equally discernible differences between the social origins of various clubs and the elite traditions of those who administered the game.

Despite growth in class participation, New Zealand cricket remained firmly under the administrative control of local social elites. But one hesitates to suggest that this was a product of deliberate social exclusion. While this played some part, white-collar domination was more to do with the social and economic structure of the colony as a whole. Long

working hours, the rural base of much of the semi-skilled and unskilled population and their lack of educational opportunities, all militated against a significant level of blue-collar participation in representative cricket. To compensate for this, all of the main centres developed mid-week, suburban and trades based competitions. Only in Otago during the early 1880s, where the politics of individual personalities undoubtedly played a part, did the divisions between white-collar and blue-collar cricketing interests produce significant conflict. Otherwise, one can assume that most cricketers were able to find an appropriate niche within the variety of teams and competitions which existed by the end of the nineteenth century.

The consolidation of an urban, white-collar game was reinforced by a strong contribution from New Zealand's elite secondary schools. Institutions such as Christ's College and Wellington College sought, exactly in the manner of the English public schools and their colonial clones in Australia, Canada, India and the West Indies,¹ to use cricket as a means of fostering discipline and conformity within the schools and as a training for the skills necessary to life outside them. The elite schools made a disproportionate contribution to both provincial and national teams and to the administration of New Zealand cricket.

The schools were also instrumental in shaping a strong understanding of the wider meanings of Victorian cricket within New Zealand. Unlike India and Africa, where sport was a

1. For example, Mangan, "Eton in India", *passim*; Sandiford & Stoddart, "The Elite Schools and Cricket in Barbados", *passim*.

vital component in the subtle bridging of cultural differences between British administrators and indigenous elites,² the nature of New Zealand race relations, and especially the rural distribution of the Maori population, precluded a role for conventional notions of Muscular Christianity. But there is abundant evidence to show that New Zealand observers well understood the place of cricket within developing Victorian conceptions of the symmetry between a healthy body and a healthy mind. At the same time, they were equally fervent in their condemnation of those elements - and especially women's cricket - which threatened to pervert the prevailing ideology. In short, there can be no question, despite periodic complaints about declining public support for the game, that both the form and essence of Victorian cricket were successfully transplanted to New Zealand and transmitted to native born generations.

Yet this structure and the idealism which accompanied it could not surmount a series of obstacles which ultimately restricted the growth and effectiveness of New Zealand cricket. A small population base, difficult transport and communication networks and unfavourable legislation, such as the 1881 Public Reserves Act, determined that provincial and international cricket was never economically viable. As with most English counties and clubs, the provincial cricket associations were frequently obliged to derive their income from activities totally unrelated to cricket. There were few funds available to enable long term planning or expansion -

2. For example, Mangan, "Christ and the Imperial Games Fields" *passim*.

especially of good quality grounds. Efforts to create a regulated programme of inter-provincial first-class matches foundered on similar problems.

Faced with these impediments, the provinces were inclined to guard their interests and resources carefully. But, as with the conflicts between the various Australian colonies and the Australasian Cricket Council during the 1890s,³ necessary self-interest frequently manifested itself as vitriolic rivalry. This seriously hindered efforts to foster a sense of unity and common purpose around the New Zealand Cricket Council and the New Zealand representative team.

In this context, there is much scope to question the conventional Victorian notion of cricket as an agent of unity both between Britain and her colonies and between individual colonies. While there was no shortage of editors and public figures willing to espouse an imperial or federal rhetoric, the selection of every New Zealand team prior to 1914 prompted many of these same critics to abandon altruism in favour of chauvinism. One may also speculate as to whether many of the sentiments ascribed to cricket held any relevance to working-class cricketers - and especially to unskilled workers who were not subjected to the elite educational ethos or other sources, such as urban newspapers, which conveyed it. Indeed, if one considers that the heart of New Zealand cricket - the four main centres - contained less than one-third of the total European population by 1911, there is no sense in which the public face of cricket can be regarded as fully representative of New Zealand society.

³. Harte, *op. cit.*, pp.174-202.

The consistent failure of all New Zealand teams against international opposition naturally had its own impact. While the success of Australian cricket was able to obscure many of the divisions within it, and it became intertwined with themes of assertive colonialism and, later, emergent nationalism, New Zealand cricket remained bound by notions of deference and tutelage which emphasised the inferiority of the colony in relation to the Mother Country. But rather than seeking to find touring teams who were of comparable ability to New Zealand players, the New Zealand Cricket Council deliberately tried to secure the highest quality English amateur opposition - teams which embodied both the best standard and form of cricket. Indeed, the idealisation of the English game remained a strong current in New Zealand cricket well into the 1930s. At the same time, relations with Australia deteriorated - in part a reflection of the growing disparity in the playing ability of the two countries, but perhaps also a New Zealand reaction to elements of brash professionalism in Australian cricket.

New Zealand cricket should have fallen victim to climatic factors, unreliable communications and the economic reality which constantly hindered the activities of the provincial cricket associations and the NZCC. That it did not, is testimony to a powerful Victorian ethos which stressed the need to maintain and develop the game irrespective of cost. This was an ethos which determined that the most distant colony of the British Empire was also the one which guarded a traditional English form of cricket most jealously.

The "English" element which stemmed from Wakefieldian

idealism in the mid nineteenth century, remained strong in New Zealand cricket late into the twentieth century. Up to 1951, nineteen of New Zealand's 22 Test matches were against England, and to date it has played twice as many Test matches against that country as any other.⁴ But as much as this surely reflects the tastes of the New Zealand Cricket Council, it must also be attributed to indifference on the part of Australia. From the late 1920s the Australian Board of Control adopted a very negative attitude towards the New Zealand game. A low point was reached in December 1930 when the ABC stated that while it was willing to assist New Zealand cricket by sending young players on development tours after the completion of the Sheffield Shield programme, sending more experienced men would unfairly deprive Australian clubs during important end of season grade games.⁵ No Australian team toured New Zealand from 1928 to 1946, and there were only six visits in the forty years following New Zealand's admission to Test cricket in 1929-30.

Apart from the retrospectively recognised Test match of 1946, the two countries did not meet regularly at international level until 1973-74.⁶ The Australian attitude prompted former Australian captain Vic Richardson to observe that "the Marylebone Cricket Club has done more for cricket in New Zealand from a distance of 10,000 miles than the Australian Board of Control for International Cricket has done from 1500".⁷ Unlike those of a strong imperial ilk who

4. Payne & Smith, *op. cit.*, pp.349-50.

5. ABCIC, Minutes, 29 & 30 December 1930.

6. Neely, et al, *Men in White*, *passim*.

7. V.Y. Richardson, *The Vic Richardson Story*, Melbourne, 1967, p.1.

inhabited Lord's, and perhaps felt a moral obligation to sustain cricket in the most distant corners of Empire, the pragmatists of the ABC realised that New Zealand had nothing to offer Australian cricket.

New Zealand defeated Australia for the first time in March 1974, and finally won a Test against England at the Basin Reserve in February 1978 - a century after the Australian victory against the MCC at Lord's had dramatically changed the fabric of imperial cricket. Although the age of Empire had long departed, the victory was attended by much greater celebration than the first success over Australia in 1974. Some likened it to VE Day, others to Hillary's conquest of Everest.⁸ Whatever the true magnitude of the performance - and New Zealand fell rapidly to earth with heavy defeat in the next Test at Christchurch - it could at least be said that cricketing parity had been achieved with the one opponent who still mattered above all others.

⁸. Neely, et al., *Men in White*, p.503. For a discussion of the significance of Everest in the Imperial process, see G.T. Stewart "Tenzing's Two Wrist-Watches: The Conquest of Everest and Late Imperial Culture in Britain 1921-53", *Past and Present*, No.149 (November 1995).

APPENDIX A

TOURING TEAMS IN NEW ZEALAND

		First-class				All matches			
		P	W	L	D	P	W	L	D
1863-64	Parr's England XI	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1
1876-77	Lillywhite's England XI	-	-	-	-	8	6	-	2
1877-78	Australia	-	-	-	-	7	5	1	1
1880-81	Australia	-	-	-	-	10	6	1	3
1881-82	Shaw's England XI	-	-	-	-	7	5	-	2
1883-84	Tasmania	4	-	3	1	7	2	3	2
1886-87	Australia	-	-	-	-	5	2	-	3
1887-88	Smith's England XI	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
1888-89	English Footballers	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
1889-90	New South Wales	5	4	-	1	7	6	-	1
1893-94	New South Wales	7	4	1	2	8	4	1	3
1894-95	Fiji	6	2	2	2	8	4	2	2
1895-96	New South Wales	5	3	1	1	5	3	1	1
1896-97	Australia	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	2
1896-97	Queensland	5	3	1	1	8	4	1	3
1899-00	Melbourne CC	-	-	-	-	7	6	-	1
1902-03	Lord Hawke's England XI	7	7	-	-	18	18	-	-
1904-05	Australia	4	3	-	1	6	4	-	2
1905-06	Melbourne CC	-	-	-	-	10	8	-	2
1906-07	MCC	11	6	2	3	16	10	2	4
1909-10	Australia	6	5	-	1	9	7	-	2
1913-14	Sims Australian XI	8	6	-	2	16	8	-	8

APPENDIX B

NEW ZEALAND INTERNATIONAL RESULTS

15, 16, 17 February 1894

Lancaster Park, Christchurch

New South Wales 147 (S.W. Austin 43, W. Robertson 6-76) and 208 (J. Searle 45*, Robertson 4-73, H.S. De Maus 4-33)

New Zealand 116 (De Maus 45, S.W. Austin 7-65) and 79 (Austin 6-35)

New Zealand lost by 160 runs

30, 31 December 1895, 1 January 1896

Lancaster Park, Christchurch

New Zealand 187 (A.G. Rains 55, W. Pearce 47, S.T. Callaway 7-77) and 254 (H.S. De Maus 47, Pearce 47, A.H. Fisher 52, Callaway 8-98)

New South Wales 198 (L.O.S. Poidevin 54, A.D. Downes 4-73) and 101 (Fisher 5-20)

New Zealand won by 142 runs

26, 27, 28 November 1896

Lancaster Park, Christchurch

Australia 304 (F. Iredale 75, J. Kelly 53, C. Eady 41, F. Wilding 3-29) and 73-5 (W. Pearce 3-44)

New Zealand XV 129 (E. Jones 8-64, G. Giffen 4-48) and 247 (A.B. Williams 73, L.A. Cuff 50, J. Baker 40, T. McKibbin 5-37, Jones 5-48)

New Zealand lost by five wickets

26, 28 December 1896

Basin Reserve, Wellington

New Zealand 207 (Hugh Lusk 59, W. Pearce 52, W.W. McGlinchy 5-63) and 241 (L.A. Cuff 41, A.R. Holdship 69, McGlinchy 5-73)

Queensland 146 (S.H. Donahoo 70, E.F. Upham 4-41) and 120 (F.S. Frankish 5-51)

New Zealand won by 182 runs

3, 5, 6 February 1899

Hobart, Tasmania

New Zealand 355 (H.B. Lusk 91, L.T. Cobcroft 83, J. Baker 81, C. Eady 6-150) and 103-3 (Baker 51*)

South Tasmania 343 (Hawson 76, Davis 65, Eady 64, D. Reese 5-58)

Match drawn

10, 12, 13 February 1899

Launceston, Tasmania

New Zealand 245 (H.B. Lusk 83, A.D. Downes 74) and 285 (J. Baker 49)

North Tasmania 329 (Windsor 181, E.F. Upham 4-67) and 51 (Upham 6-26, Downes 4-23)

New Zealand won by 150 runs

17, 18, 20, 21 February 1899*Melbourne Cricket Ground*

New Zealand 317 (J. Baker 56, D. Reese 88, A.W. Murray 5-71) and 153 (L.T. Cobcroft 59*)

Victoria 602 (J.H. Stuckey 60, P.A. McAlister 224, Murray 92, G.L. Wilson 68, A.D. Downes 4-127)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 132 runs

24, 25, 27 February 1899*Sydney Cricket Ground*

New Zealand 140 (W.P. Howell 5-22) and 64 (T. McKibbin 7-30)

New South Wales 588 (V.T. Trumper 253, R.W. Farquhar 110, L.O.S. Poidevin 69, C.W. Gregory 40*)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 384 runs

15, 16 17 March 1900*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

Melbourne Cricket Club 367 (A. Russell 98)

New Zealand 89 (H. Fry 4-18) and 246 (C. Richardson 114*, K.H. Tucker 46, H. Trumble 4-74)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 32 runs

27, 28 February, 2 March 1903*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

New Zealand 164 (K.H. Tucker 50, G.J. Thompson 6-38, E.M. Dowson 4-27) and 214 (Tucker 67, Thompson 4-74, B.J.T. Bosanquet 4-44)

Lord Hawke's XI 304 (F.L. Fane 124, T.L. Taylor 54) and 75-3

New Zealand lost by seven wickets

4, 5, 6 March 1903*Basin Reserve, Wellington*

New Zealand 274 (D. Reese 148, G.J. Thompson 8-124) and 84 (C.J. Burnup 5-8)

Lord Hawke's XI 380 (P.R. Johnson 88, P.F. Warner 125, S.T. Callaway 4-80)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 22 runs

10, 11, 13 March 1905*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

Australia 533 (V.T. Trumper 84, C. Hill 118, M.A. Noble 42, S.E. Gregory 61, W.W. Armstrong 126*, K.M. Ollivier 5-113)

New Zealand 138 (Armstrong 5-27) and 112-7 (Armstrong 5-25)

Match drawn

16, 17, 18 March 1905*Basin Reserve, Wellington*

New Zealand 94 (W.P. Howell 4-20) and 141 (W.W. Armstrong 6-51)

Australia 593-9 dec. (A. Cotter 44, R.A. Duff 51, V.T. Trumper 172, C. Hill 129, W.W. Armstrong 67*)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 358 runs

23, 24, 26, 27 March 1906*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

New Zealand 77 (C. McLeod 6-39, W.W. Armstrong 4-23) and 167 (K.H. Tucker 43*, Armstrong 4-72, McLeod 4-76)

Melbourne Cricket Club 228 (Armstrong 83, McLeod 67, T. Malone 7-64)

Match drawn

28 February, 1, 2, 4 March 1907*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

New Zealand 207 (J.J. Mahoney 71, J.W.H.T. Douglas 5-56, P.R. May 5-42) and 187 (J.D. Lawrence 51, E.V. Sale 66, Douglas 4-51)
MCC 257 (P.R. Johnson 99, R.H. Fox 47, Douglas 40, A.D. Downes 4-83) and 140-1 (Johnson 76*)

New Zealand lost by nine wickets

8, 9, 11 March 1907*Basin Reserve, Wellington*

New Zealand 165 (J.W.H.T. Douglas 7-49) and 249 (A. Haddon 71, A.B. Williams 72*, Douglas 5-75)
MCC 160 (E.F. Upham 6-84, A.H. Fisher 4-25) and 198 (Fisher 5-61)

New Zealand won by 56 runs

11, 12, 14, 15 March 1910*Lancaster Park, Christchurch*

New Zealand 155 (A. Sims 51*, W.J. Whitty 6-53) and 258 (F.A. Midlane 47, A Haddon 47, A.J.Y. Hopkins 4-34)
Australia 306 (W. Bardsley 97, W.W. Armstrong 72, J.H. Bennett 5-74) and 108-1 (E.R. Mayne 74*)

New Zealand lost by nine wickets

26, 28, 29 March 1910*Basin Reserve, Wellington*

Australia 260 (D.B.M. Smith 102, A.W.S. Brice 5-70) and 232-5 dec. (E.R. Mayne 90, W. Bardsley 71)
New Zealand 177 (D. Reese 69*, A.C. Facey 7-71) and 153 (A.W.S. Brice 43, W.J. Whitty 6-28)

New Zealand lost by 162 runs

12, 13 December 1913*Maitland, New South Wales*

New Zealand 228 (R. Hickmott 80, D. Sandman 61, A. Laurie 5-37) and 285-6 dec. (B.J. Tuckwell 84, Hickmott 49, L.G. Hemus 41)
Northern New South Wales 120 (R. Fawcett 69*) and 90 (Sandman 8-29)

New Zealand won by 303 runs

16, 17 December 1913*Glen Innes, New South Wales*

Northern New South Wales 86 (T.A. Carlton 5-21) and 100 (D. Sandman 6-50)
New Zealand 232 (W. Patrick 51, D. Reese 40, R. Berrie 5-75)

New Zealand won by an innings and 46 runs

19, 20, 22 December 1913*Exhibition Ground, Brisbane*

New Zealand 89 (C.B. Barstow 5-47, H. Ironmonger 4-38) and 161 (Barstow 5-45)

Queensland 124 (A. Marshal 42, D. Reese 7-53) and 114 (Marshal 66*, D. Sandman 5-41)

New Zealand won by 12 runs

26, 27 December 1913*Sydney Cricket Ground,*

New Zealand 161 (A.N.C. Snedden 44, D. Sandman 53*, C. Kelleway 7-53) and 105 (A.A. Mailey 4-41)

New South Wales 513 (T.J.E. Andrews 48, H.L. Collins 104, L.A. Cody 41, J.D. Scott 84, C.G. Macartney 142, C.W. Robinson 4-129)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 247 runs

31 December 1913, 1 January 1914

Goulburn, New South Wales

Southern Districts 146 (Edis 54, C.W. Robinson 5-33) and 169 (L. Thompson 84)

New Zealand 230 (B. Tuckwell 63, T.A. Carlton 42*, W. Tickner 5-86) and 82-2 (Tuckwell 46*)

New Zealand won by eight wickets

3, 5 January 1914

Albury, New South Wales

New Zealand 378 (A.N.C. Snedden 89, L.G. Hemus 69, J.H. Bennett 56, G. Kenna 5-128)

Albury and Border Association 75 and 176

New Zealand won by an innings and 127 runs

9, 10 January 1914

Melbourne Cricket Ground

New Zealand 141 (R.G. Hickmott 46, D. Reese 47, A.W. Lampard 5-41) and 188 (A.N.C. Snedden 51)

Victoria 439 (C. Kiernan 61, C.B. Willis 40, P.J. Heather 65, E.A. McDonald 64, T.J. Matthews 63*, D. Sandman 4-103)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 110 runs

16, 17, 19 January 1914

Adelaide Oval

New Zealand 362 (L.G. Hemus 46, A.N.C. Snedden 88, D. Reese 96, D. Sandman 56) and 287-6 dec. (Snedden 52, Reese 130*, L.G. Taylor 43)

South Australia 433 (D.M. Steel 73, C.E. Pellew 94, H.B. Willsmore 57, C. Hill 92, J.N. Crawford 48*) and 161-3 (A. Smith 74*)

Match drawn

6, 7, 8 March 1914

Carisbrook Ground, Dunedin

New Zealand 228 (B.J. Tuckwell 50, W.W. Armstrong 5-80) and 209 (H.B. Whitta 53, W.R. Patrick 66, A.A. Mailey 7-65)

Sims' Australian XI 354 (W.W. Armstrong 96, V.T. Trumper 72, J.N. Crawford 53, E.L. Waddy 59, J.H. Bennett 5-127, D. Sandman 4-109) and 84-3 (Waddy 46*)

New Zealand lost by seven wickets

27, 28, 30 March 1914

Eden Park, Auckland

New Zealand 269 (E.V. Sale 109*, W. Brook-Smith 46, W.W. Armstrong 6-47) and 228 (F.L. McMahon 68, A.N.C. Snedden 61, J.N. Crawford 4-54)

Sims' Australian XI 610-6 dec. (E.L. Waddy 140, C.E. Dolling 104, V.T. Trumper 81, W.W. Armstrong 110*, J.N. Crawford 134)

New Zealand lost by an innings and 113 runs

APPENDIX C

A NOTE ON "TEST MATCHES"

The first use of the term "test match" was a reference in the 1862 edition of W.J. Hammersley's *Victorian Cricketers' Guide* to the most important matches of the tour of Australia by H.H. Stephenson's England XI in 1861-62. The term was not used to describe the first eleven a side encounter between Australia and England in 1877, and did not come into common usage in Australia until the late 1880s, or in England until the late 1890s.⁹

In New Zealand, the term dates to January 1864 when the *Wellington Independent* used "test match" to describe a Wellington trial to select an XI to play Nelson.¹⁰ All eleven a side encounters between New Zealand and Australian or English teams after 1900 were described by the press as "test matches" - although only the 1905 Australian team can be regarded as fully representative. The term does not appear to have been used before 1900 to describe matches between New Zealand and New South Wales or Queensland. New Zealand was not granted "Test" status by the Imperial Cricket Conference until 1929-30.

⁹. Inglis, op. cit., pp.173-6.

¹⁰. *Wellington Independent* 30 January 1864, p.2; 4 February 1864, p2.

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